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## CHICAGO.

### II.

THE result of the decisive battle between the forces of Wolfe and Montcalm, upon the Plains of Abraham, was the fall of Quebec and Canada and the passing of French domination in the west to the English, secured to the latter by the peace of Paris in 1763. On all the borders of the great lakes, wherever there was a military post garrisoned by the soldiers of the French king at the date of the capitulation, there was now floating in the breeze the flag of Great Britain. Upon the upper lakes, possession had been taken of Detroit, Michilimackinac, Sault de Ste. Marie, Green Bay, and St. Josephs at the mouth of the river of that name, near the head of Lake Michigan. The change was radical and absolute. England's supremacy was complete. The Chicago country became a part of English domain—a portion of English Canadian territory.

But what of the Indians who inhabited this region? They saw that their white friends, the French, had been humiliated, but they could hardly understand why. They had witnessed no marching of hostile forces, no ambuscades, no great battles; and why, then, should the English, whom they disliked, unfurl their banners so triumphantly, proudly, wherever there were forts? Their dislike was soon turned to hatred, their hatred to a savage revengefulness; for "lawless traders and equally lawless speculators had preyed upon the Indians." Therefore it was that the tribes of the west, among which were the Potawatomies, leagued together, determined to drive the conquerors of the French into the Atlantic. Vain was the determination; but their resolve was not a conspiracy.

His "Most Christian Majesty," the French king, it is true, ceded and guar-

anted to his "Britannick Majesty," at the "Definitive Treaty of Friendship and Peace" between them, concluded at Paris on the tenth of February, 1763, "in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton and all the other islands and coasts in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence; and, in general, everything that depends on the said countries—lands, islands, coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the most Christian king and the crown of France have had, till now, over the said countries, islands, lands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants." But this right, as to the tribes in the west, the great warrior-chief of the Ottawas—the renowned Pontiac—had already proposed to dispute by force of arms. Already had he sent ambassadors to the different nations. "They visited the country of the Ohio and its tributaries, passed northward to the region of the upper lakes and the borders of the River Ottawa, and far southward towards the mouth of the Mississippi." In this remarkable league were the Pottawatomies of the rivers Milwaukee, Chicago, St. Joseph and Detroit.

In Pontiac's war soon to be waged wherever in the west the English had a foothold, the site of the present city of Chicago was not to witness any stirring event—any sanguinary contest; for only French traders among the Pottawatomies were its occupants, save a goodly number of those Indians. But across Lake Michigan, at the mouth of the St. Joseph, early in the days of "the con-

spiracy," a cruel tragedy was enacted. The fort there had been garrisoned by a command of only fourteen men, under an ensign, since it had been in possession of the English—all unconscious of the danger which surrounded them, for at this date the Pottawatomies had not moved up the river to the carrying-place, but lived in a village at its mouth, as of old.

On the morning of the twenty-fifth of May, 1763, while yet it was very early, the ensign in command at Fort St. Joseph was notified that a large party of Pottawatomies of Detroit had arrived, on a visit to their relatives. Soon a chief, "with three or four followers, came to his quarters as if to hold a friendly 'talk,' and immediately after a Canadian came in with intelligence that the fort was surrounded by Indians who evidently had hostile intentions." Thereupon the commander ran out of the apartment, and crossing the parade, which was full of Indians and Canadians, hastily entered the barracks. These were also crowded with savages, very insolent and disorderly. Calling upon his sergeant to get his men under arms, he hastened out again to the parade and endeavored to muster the Canadians together, but while busying himself with these somewhat unwilling auxiliaries he heard a wild cry from within the barracks. Instantly all the Indians in the fort rushed to the gate, tomahawked the sentinel, and opened a free passage to their comrades without."\* In less than two minutes the fort was plundered,

\* Parkman's 'Conspiracy of Pontiac,' Vol. I, pp. 273, 274.

eleven men killed, and the ensign with three others were made prisoners and bound fast. These were taken to Detroit, and on the fifteenth of June were exchanged for several Pottawatomies, who had been for nearly two months prisoners in the fort at that place.

The war, as already intimated, terminated disastrously to the confederated tribes, but not until every post in the west had been taken, except those of Niagara, Ligonier, Pittsburgh and Detroit, and there had been great suffering in the western parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

That the Pottawatomies of Chicago shared in the plunder taken at Fort St. Joseph is altogether probable. Doubtless not a few were present to assist in the taking of that post; for, that its capture had been resolved upon, was certainly known to them. Equally certain is it that the few French traders there rejoiced no less than the savages as the news reached them of the fall of the fort and the killing of most of its garrison. But, when the savages had sued for peace, and the forts at Michilimackinac, Sault de Ste. Marie and Green bay had been re-occupied by British troops, the one at the mouth of the St. Joseph's was left a solitude. Subsequently, near the site of the present city of South Bend, Indiana, a stockade was built (some miles below which there had, many years before, been a French fort\*), and garrisoned by the English, to which was given the

name of Fort St. Joseph;† while the Pottawatomies moved up the river from the mouth to the portage leading to the headwaters of the Kankakee, across the river from the fort, where they built a village, as already mentioned.

Although, for more than ten years after the ending of Pontiac's war, the Pottawatomies conducted themselves so as to cause no complaint to be made on part of the English, either by the military commanders of the posts near them, or by the fur-traders who trafficked with them, there was a hatred still rankling in their breasts, notwithstanding the lapse of so long a time. When, therefore, the Revolutionary contest began, the British found it a very difficult task to enlist these savages, except those dwelling near Fort Detroit, in their cause. The farther their homes from the last mentioned post, the greater was the difficulty in managing them. It is not surprising, therefore, that Major Arent Schuyler De Peyster, commanding at Michilimackinac, should have characterized those living at Milwaukee as "runagates"—"a horrid set of refractory Indians." Nor can it be presumed that those dwelling upon the Chicago river, at that date, were any the less "refractory."

French traders continued to reside

\* \* Charlevoix's *Letters to the Duchess of Lesdiguières*. (London: 1763), pp. 291, 272.

† Compare 'A New Map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania,' etc. By Thomas Hutchins. (London: 1778). Also, 'A Description of Louisiana,' by Father Louis Hennepin, translated by John Gilmary Shea, p. 140, note; and 'History of St. Joseph County, Indiana.' (Chicago: 1880), pp. 331, 335. The fort was about two miles below the present site of the city of South Bend, on the east side of the river.

upon the St. Joseph, at Milwaukee, at Chicago, and upon the Illinois, after the English took possession of the country and after the conquering of Pontiac, as they had before. Mr. Patrick Kennedy, in an expedition undertaken by himself and several *coureurs de bois* in the year 1773, from Kaskaskia, "in the Illinois country," to the headwaters of the Illinois river—just a century after its first exploration by Louis Joliet—found them there.

"On the twenty-third of July," says Kennedy, "we set out from Kaskaskia in search of a copper mine, and on the thirty-first reached the Illinois river—eighty-four miles distant. The same day we entered the last mentioned stream, which is eighteen miles above that of the Missouri."

"On the first of August," continues the writer, "about twelve o'clock, we stopped at the Peorias' wintering-ground. About a quarter of a mile from the river, on the eastern side of it, is a meadow of many miles in length and five or six miles broad. In this meadow are many small lakes communicating with each other, and by which there are passages for small boats or canoes, and one in particular leads to the Illinois river. The timber in general consists of very tall oaks. We met with some beautiful islands in this part of the river, which is forty-eight miles from the Mississippi, and great plenty of buffaloes and deer. On the second, at one o'clock, we passed an island called Pierre. A *fleche*, or arrow stone, is gotten by the Indians from a high hill on the western side of the river, near the above island; with

this stone, the natives make their gun-flints and point their arrows."

"At sunset on the sixth of August," M. Kennedy also says, "we passed a river called Michilimackinac. It is on the southeastern side of the Illinois river, is fifty yards wide, navigable for about ninety miles, and has between thirty and forty small islands at its mouth, which at a distance appear like a small village. On the banks of this river is plenty of good timber, viz.: red and white cedar, pine, maple, walnut, etc.; and finding some pieces of coal, I was induced to walk up the stream a few miles, although not far enough to reach a coal mine. In many places I also found clinkers, which inclined me to think that a coal mine, not far distant, was on fire, and I have since heard there was."

"On the seventh of August," adds Mr. Kennedy, "the morning being very foggy and the river overgrown with weeds along its sides, we could make but little headway. About twelve o'clock we got to the old Peoria fort and village, on the western shore of the river and at the southern end of Illinois lake, which is nineteen miles and a half in length and three miles in breadth. It has no rocks or shoals or perceivable current. We found the stockades of this Peoria fort destroyed by fire, but the houses were still standing. The summit on which the fort stood commands a fine prospect of the country to the eastward, and up the lake to the point where the river comes in at the north end."

At a point thirty miles below where the Fox river empties into the Illinois, the men were obliged to leave their



boat, owing to low water. This was on the ninth of August. On an island somewhat more than fifteen miles above the mouth of Fox river, several French traders were found, but Mr. Kennedy could get no information from them as to the copper mine he was so anxious to find, so he returned to Kaskaskia.\*

As the Revolutionary war progressed, the Pottawatomies of the west, especially those upon the river St. Joseph, were induced, many of them, to join the British against the colonies. But in the latter half of the year 1778 an event occurred which greatly changed the aspect of affairs in the western country, and quickly turned the feelings of the Chicago and Milwaukee savages to friendship for the Americans. This was the conquest, in July of that year, of the Illinois French-Canadian villages, by Colonel George Rogers Clark.

"My sudden appearance in their country," said Clark, in speaking of the various Indian tribes of the west, "put them into the greatest consternation. They were generally at war against us, but the French and Spaniards appearing so fond of us confused them. They counselled with the French traders to know what was best to be done, and of course were advised to come and solicit for peace." The colonel was greatly

astonished to see the "amazing number" of savages that soon flocked into the town of Cahokia, the most northern of the Illinois villages, to treat for peace and to hear what the Big Knives had to say. Many of them came from five hundred miles away—Pottawatomies, Chippewas, Winnebagoes, Sacs and Foxes, Ottawas, "and a number of other nations," says the colonel, "all living east of the Mississippi, and many of them at war against them."

The savages then made submissive speeches, alleging that they had been persuaded to go to war by the English and made to harbor a wrong opinion of the Americans; but they now believed the latter to be men and warriors, and that they desired to take them by the hand as brothers. They did not speak, they said, from their lips only, but from their hearts as well, as the American commander would soon discover. Clark at once took them all into his friendship, and sent trusty French agents among them. So the Pottawatomies of Chicago, with those of Milwaukee, became good friends to the Big Knives; but those upon the St. Joseph, being nearer Detroit and easily accessible to the English, kept aloof to a great extent. The British commandant sent messengers with presents to the former, but "to little purpose."

Lieutenant-governor Henry Hamilton, at Detroit, when he learned of Colonel Clark's success in the Illinois, determined to attempt the recovery of those towns. His command consisted of regulars, volunteers and Indians. He left Detroit in October, 1778, intend-

\* Mr. Kennedy's journal was first published in Thomas Hutchins' 'Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania,' etc. (London, 1778), pp. 51-64. It is there given entire. It was afterwards printed in Gilbert Imlay's 'Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America,' (London, 1797) pp. 506-511. In the extracts above, I have not given his precise words in every instance, but have retained his meaning.

ing to cross the head of Lake Erie to the mouth of the Maumee river, in the northwestern part of what is now the state of Ohio, ascend that stream to its head, where the city of Fort Wayne, Indiana, now stands, cross a short portage to the waters of the Wabash, and float down that river and the Ohio to the Mississippi. Thence, up that stream, he would make his way quickly to the Illinois villages. Arrived at Vincennes, upon the Wabash, and Hamilton found it too late in the season to go forward, and he here went into winter quarters.

To coöperate with Hamilton, a force was to be collected, if possible, of savages living upon the shores of Lake Michigan. Major De Peyster, in command at Michilimackinac, dispatched Captain Charles Langlade and Lieutenant Gautier Verville, his nephew—both partisan officers—in October, to arouse the Indians and assemble them at Fort St. Joseph. Langlade was to join Hamilton with all the force he could raise, or, if it would promote the lieutenant-governor's operations, he was to descend the Kankakee and Illinois to the Mississippi and move thence, directly upon Cahokia and the other villages. Both Langlade and Verville were exhorted by De Peyster to use economy, as the nations in general had already been given many presents by the British king, and they were enjoined to impress upon the minds of the warriors the necessity of using humanity towards prisoners, who would be ransomed.

Langlade determined to assemble the savages in council at L'Arbre Croche, a

settlement of the Ottawa Indians, not far from the fort of Michilimackinac. A messenger was dispatched to Milwaukee to invite the Pottawatomies living upon that river, to attend the meeting, but the person sent failed in his mission. Then Verville went; he, too, returned, declaring that the Indians "laughed at him." It required, finally, the presence of Langlade before the "refractory" Milwaukee savages could be induced to take up the hatchet against the Americans. How this was brought about is thus told: Langlade talked awhile with the savages without making any favorable impression upon their minds, "when he concluded," so runs the tradition, "to resort to the knowledge he possessed of Indian habits and customs. He built a lodge in the midst of the village, with a door at each end; had several dogs killed, and had the dog-feast prepared; then placed the raw heart of a dog on a stick at each door. Then the Indians partook of the feast, when Langlade, singing the war song and marching around within the lodge, bent down, as he passed one door and took a bite of the raw heart, and repeated the same ceremony as he passed the other—an appeal to Indian bravery, that, if they possessed brave hearts themselves, they would follow his example and accompany him to war. They could not resist this ancient and superstitious custom and so one after another joined in the war song and tasted the dog's heart till all had become the following of Langlade and he led them forth."

A considerable force finally reached the St. Joseph river, where they were

joined by some Pottawatomies from their village at Chicago and from the one at the carrying-place, at the head of the Kankakee. But the assembled savages soon learned that Hamilton at Vincennes had been captured by Colonel Clark from Kaskaskia, and they returned to their homes greatly chagrined.

Friendly Indians and French traders did not fail to take the news of the gathering of the savages under Langlade to the Illinois towns. Thereupon Major Joseph Bowman, at the request of Colonel Clark, on the twentieth of April, 1779, sent an address to the Pottawatomie chiefs in general, but particularly to the chief at the Chicago village. It was written in French. He desired the Indians to remain at home, to treat the French and other traders well, and to refuse to rise and go to war at the instigations of bad persons. The "Bostonian" does not ask the Indian to war for him; he does that for himself. The young people like war, though they do not desire it. If any want to fight for the English, let them do so like men, but the Americans are only deceived once.\*

In the first half of the year 1779, and not long after the capture of Hamilton, it was proposed by Colonel Clark, who had returned to the Illinois towns from Vincennes, to raise a force and march against Detroit. The news of this proposed expedition soon reached the post last named, where Captain Richard B. Lernoult of the Eighth (or the King's)

regiment of foot, was in command. He at once resolved to create a diversion in favor of the British. Lieutenant Thomas Bennet of the regulars† was sent with a force of about one hundred whites and a number of savages on an enterprise against the Illinois towns. He was ordered to go first to Chicago and there await reinforcements of savages from the north. There was, at this time, a plain and very direct road leading from Detroit to Fort St. Joseph. From this post, a trail led from the south side of the river St. Joseph for a considerable distance in nearly a west course; but eventually it circled around the head of Lake Michigan to Chicago. Along the road just mentioned and this trail marched Lieutenant Bennet.

On the first of July Major De Peyster, at Fort Michilimackinac, issued instructions to Langlade to do his utmost to raise the Winnebagoes and "the people of the Milwaukee Fork" and others bordering on Lake Michigan, and with them hurry and join Lieutenant Bennet at Chicago. If, upon his arrival there, that officer had left, he was to follow him by forced marches. On the thirtieth of July Bennet was at Chicago with his white force and two hundred Indians; but he learned that Clark had given up his proposed march against Detroit, so he returned to his post, but stopping on his way at Fort St. Joseph. Here, on the sixth of August, he had a "talk" with the Pottawatomies, who came over from their village to hear

\* Address of Bowman to the Pottawatomie chiefs, copied from the Haldimand papers.

† Bennet was a lieutenant in the Eighth (or King's) regiment of foot. His commission was dated August 1, 1770.

what he had to say. He enjoined them to remain true to their allegiance, and asked them to join his force and march with him to Detroit. As a result of this council, a considerable number of these savages determined to follow the lieutenant, but it was against the advice of one of their principal war chiefs.

On the eleventh of August traders arrived at Fort Michilimackinac from the Mississippi, bringing an account of an extraordinary escape which a Mr. Ramsay and his son had had from some Pottawatomies at the mouth of the River St. Joseph. Mr. Ramsay was on a trading tour, and was invited to land, when about to enter that stream from the lake, by a band of those Indians. Supposing they had some furs to dispose of, he ordered his men to go on shore, intending himself to precede them. While standing up in his canoe, in which was his young son, preparatory to his debarkation, three of the warriors, who had waded through the water neck-high for that purpose, seized him and carried him on shore. His son was also captured. Mr. Ramsay's men immediately landed, and were preparing to follow their master, but observing eleven Indians near at hand and perceiving the bad intention of the chiefs, got again into their canoes, leaving the trader and his son to their fate. They then paddled to an adjacent island, waiting the issue of events.

Mr. Ramsay being tied to the stump of a tree, and his son narrowly watched, the Indians rummaged the canoe and brought up as much rum as they thought they could drink. They then began to

sing their war songs, and, making a fire near their prisoner, they sat down and began to insult him, telling him he was an old woman, obliging his son to join in the derision.

The savages beginning to feel the effects of the rum, examined the chords with which the captive was bound, and finding everything secure, they placed some wood around him to be ready, when they should find themselves disposed, to burn him. Some time after, they untied him and brought him to a spot where they had prepared his death-feast, "which consisted of dog, tiger-cat and bear's grease, mixed with wild oats, of which he was compelled to eat." Mr. Ramsay, fully understanding the nature of Indians, complied with seeming cheerfulness, eating until he said he was satisfied. He was then taken back to the intended place of execution, and again tied to the stump, when, with great apparent composure, he desired permission to make a speech before he changed "his climate," as he said—the object apparently being to give more time for the Pottawatomies to drink. His request being granted, he immediately began to harangue them.

"It is true," said the speaker, "the Master of Life has sent me here to those Indians whose hearts are full of poisoned blood, and as they mean to change my climate, I shall go with courage to a better trading-ground, where I shall find good Indians. They have always known me to have had pity on them—their wives and children, since I have been a trader, and to have opened my heart to them on all occasions; but now the bad



spirit has joined his heart with theirs, to make me change my climate, which I am glad of, for I am better known in the country I am going to by greater warriors than ever these were. I now look on all the chiefs as old women; and as I am the buffalo, I shall drink my last with them and carry the news to the other world."

The Indians having as attentively heard his speech as their condition would allow, attempted to prepare the fire for his torture. Mr. Ramsay immediately told his son not to be disheartened, desiring him to urge them to drink more. These instructions were followed, and they were soon too drunk to do any more mischief. He then desired his son to cut his chords, and being released he assisted in pouring rum down their throats until the whole were quite insensible. Fired with resentment at their intended barbarity, he then cut all their throats, reloaded his canoe with the articles they had taken out, and paddled from shore as fast as he could. He was soon hailed by his men, who were rejoiced to see him safe. After arranging his cargo, he pursued his journey, but in a different direction from that originally intended. On his return to Michilimackinac, Mr. Ramsay was congratulated by Lieutenant-governor Patrick Sinclair on his narrow escape; "but he never thought it prudent to go that route again."\*

\* 'Voyages and Travels' of J. Long. (London: 1791), pp. 144-147. Some of the minor incidents of the affair are given in so confused a manner by Long, that I have changed the relation of them to meet the probabilities of what took place.

In the latter part of May, 1780, there appeared a considerable force of the enemy from the north, consisting of Indians and a few white men, in the vicinity of Cahokia. But the Americans under Colonel George Rogers Clark were prepared for them, having learned of their intended raid. The Indians, therefore, crossed the Mississippi, where they did "some mischief," killing a few citizens near the village of St. Louis.† With the savages were some Pottawatomies from the Chicago village; and on their return thither with the Chippewas (who took that route on their way home) there was much yelling and dancing, though the scalps and prisoners in their possession were few indeed. But when a retaliatory expedition, sent immediately after by Colonel Clark, marched up the Illinois river, great was the consternation, not only at Chicago but on the St. Joseph—the fear reaching even to Fort Michilimackinac. However, the "Bostonians" and "Creoles" (as the St. Louis people were called) marched no farther in that direction than Peoria lake.

The abandonment of Fort St. Joseph during that summer by Louis Chevalier and his force, under orders from Lieutenant-governor Sinclair at Fort Michilimackinac, was soon known in the Illinois towns, where lived, at that date, Thomas Brady, "a restless, adventurous, daring man, a native of Pennsyl-

† "The popular account of the affair of 1780, is mainly a tissue of ingenious fictions, fabricated by creative imaginations during fifty years of oral tradition."—Professor S. Waterhouse, in 'Scharf's History of St. Louis,' Vol. 1. p. 221.

vania," ready for anything that would probably result in the advancement of the cause of America. At St. Joseph there were a number of English traders. These he resolved to capture with all their "plunder." A small company was soon enlisted in the enterprise, and in October, 1780,\* they marched for the "Cow-Pens," as the abandoned fort was termed. Several English traders were made prisoners with all their goods on hand; however, on the return, when only a short distance had been made, "Monsieur Tom" and his companions were attacked by the irate Pottawatomies and all killed or captured, the traders rescued and their goods brought safely back to the "Cow-Pens." But this stroke was quickly avenged by the friends and relatives of those who had been killed or made prisoners. Early in 1781 a force from Cahokia, joined by a number from the Spanish town of St. Louis, marched to the St. Joseph and again captured the ill-fated post, returning home in safety, having, however, before starting upon the expedition, secured the neutrality of the Pottawatomies by promising them (which promise was sacredly kept) a share of the spoils. From this time onward, to the close of the Revolution, the western Pottawatomies—those of the rivers Milwaukee, Chicago and St. Joseph—gave the Americans little trouble either at the Illinois towns or at Vincennes upon the Wabash, or across the Ohio in the border settlements.

Although the United States held trea-

\*In several western histories, the date of this transaction is incorrectly given as of the year 1777.

ties with the Pottawatomies and several other tribes as early as the thirty-first day of January, 1786, at Fort Finney, near the mouth of the great Miami, and at Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum, on the ninth of January, 1789, yet at neither of these councils were the Chicago and Milwaukee bands represented, and even those who sent representatives subsequently denied the binding effect of the articles that had been signed; so, of course, in the terrible Indian war of 1790-95 which followed, the Pottawatomies took part against the Americans, but they were slow to be drawn into the conflict. "You tell us," said their first and great chief, Lagesse, in his speech to Major John F. Hamtramck in August, 1792, at Vincennes, "you tell us you are ignorant why the red people make war on the white people. We are as ignorant of it as you are, for ever since the war began we have laid still in our villages, although repeatedly invited to go to war; but, my father, the confidence we have in you has prevented us from making war against you, and we hold you by the hand with a stronger grip than ever."

In a council of a large number of the nations (whose homes were in the territory northwest of the Ohio river—extending to the lakes on the north and the Mississippi on the west—including, of course, the Pottawatomies of Chicago), held upon the Maumee river, in the present state of Ohio, on the thirteenth of August, 1793, it was determined that unless the United States should agree to the Ohio river as the boundary line between the white people and the

Indians, all would join in the war, and that there would be no peace. As the terms could not be complied with, the Indian war now became general. But the confederate tribes soon had cause to regret their determination, for General Anthony Wayne and his brave soldiers, at the battle of the Fallen Timbers the next year, forever destroyed their power in the northwest, and they were glad to treat for a permanent peace with their conquerors at almost any price. At Greenville twelve tribes, including the Pottawatomies, signed, on the third of August, 1795, articles which put an end to a destructive war, settled all controversies, and restored harmony and friendly intercourse between them and the United States.

One of the Pottawatomie chiefs present at Greenville was New-corn, from Lake Michigan. "I have come here," said he to General Wayne, "on the good work of peace; no other motive could have induced me to undertake so long a journey as I have now performed, in my advanced age and infirm state of health. I come from Lake Michigan. I hope after our treaty, you will exchange our old medals and supply us with General Washington's. My young men will no longer listen to the British whom they have thrown off, and henceforth will view the Americans as their only true friends." "I come," said Okia, another Pottawatomie chief, "from the river Huron, near Detroit. My fathers have long possessed that country. The other Pottawatomies present live on the St. Joseph and in that direction. All my old chiefs are dead;

you, therefore, see young chiefs only from my towns, who are unaccustomed to speak in council."

Again spoke the New-corn—a Nestor of the wilderness, possessed of all the garrulity of old age. "My friend," said he to Wayne, "when I came here, I took you by the hand. You welcomed me and asked me for my great war chief. I told you that all were killed, that none remained but myself, who has the vanity to think myself a brave man and a great warrior. The Great Spirit has made me a great chief and endowed me with great powers. I know the people," he continued, "who have made and violated former treaties. I am too honorable and too brave a man to be guilty of such unworthy conduct. I love and fear the Great Spirit. He now hears what I say. I dare not tell a lie. My friend, do not deceive us in the manner that the French, the British and Spaniards have heretofore done. The English have abused us much; they have made us promises which they never fulfilled; they have proved to us how little they have ever had our happiness at heart; and we have severely suffered for placing our dependence on so faithless a people."

It would seem to be certain that none of the Indians at Greenville made more of a sacrifice for the sake of peace than the Pottawatomies from Lake Michigan. "One piece of land, six miles square, at the mouth of the Chikago river, emptying into the southwest end of Lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood," was the price asked of them if they desired the confidence of the United States; and it was granted. A large

part of what is now the city of Chicago had the Indian title thus early extinguished, and the general government became the sole owner of the thirty-six sections of land, although not yet in actual possession of them.

How the United States had extended her dominion north to the lakes and west to the Mississippi, it is now proper briefly to consider.

England possessed the whole of Canada and Louisiana by virtue of her conquests; and, in 1774, "with no higher object in view than to strengthen the authority of the king in America, passed the Quebec act," seeking thereby to create under her own auspices, "a distinct empire, suited to coerce her original colonies, and restrain them from aspiring to independence. For this end it united into one province the territory of Canada, together with all the country northwest of the Ohio to the head of Lake Superior and the Mississippi, and consolidated all authority over this boundless region in the hands of the executive power." By this act the Chicago country became a part of the province of Quebec, and it so remained until the treaty of Paris of 1783, when the whole northwest was ceded by Great Britain to the United States, the latter not getting actual possession, however, until 1796, when the British military posts of Miami, Detroit, Michilimackinac, and those to the eastward, were yielded up under a new treaty which had just been negotiated between the two governments.

Meanwhile, and during the continuance of the Revolution, the states of

New York, Connecticut and Virginia advanced in the congress of the United States claims to the country northwest of the Ohio, of greater or less magnitude, either one of which, had it been secured, would have included the site of the present city of Chicago.\* The state last mentioned, by virtue of conquests largely her own, extended her jurisdiction in both a military and civil way over the Illinois and Wabash settlements (previously made by French Canadians), and included in a county called "Illinois" (the only one ever formed without a boundary), "all the citizens" of that commonwealth who had "already settled" or should thereafter "settle on the western side of the Ohio." No Virginians, however, "settled" in the Chicago country before the beginning of 1784, when their state yielded her claim to the United States.† Virginia had been preceded in her cession by New York, and was followed by Connecticut, leaving the general government absolute owner of the whole country, subject only to the rights, such as they were, of the Indian nations who dwelt therein; but, as to six miles square at the mouth of Chicago river, as already shown, their title had been extinguished by the treaty of Greenville, in August, 1795.

[To be continued.]

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

\* While the claims of New York and Virginia each included the whole northwest, Connecticut was more modest. "This state," said Governor Jonathan Trumbull, in a proclamation of November 15, 1783, "has the undoubted and exclusive right of jurisdiction on, and pre-emption to all the lands lying west of the state of Pennsylvania and east of the River Mississippi, and extending throughout from latitude 41° to latitude 42° 2' north." This included the Chicago country.

† Virginia's deed to the United States, executed on the first day of March, 1784, I do not remember to have seen in any western publication. It may be found in 'Hening's (Va.) Statutes at Large,' Vol. XI., pp. 571-575.



## MICHIGAN'S BOUNDARY TROUBLES.

THE recent action of a portion of the people of Dakota, in framing a state constitution, electing state officers and members of congress, and equipping themselves with all the paraphernalia of state sovereignty, while yet a territory of the United States and pending action upon a regular and orderly petition for admission as a state, has excited much discussion and interest in congress, in the public prints, and among students of American history. The latter very readily find parallel for the course of Dakota in the case of Michigan, which not only had a complete state government before it was a state, but a government, rightly or wrongly, legally or otherwise, exercising all the executive, legislative and judicial functions of entire and regularly erected sovereignty.

Before attempting to give the narrative of Michigan's troublous nativity, it will be well to glance at the antecedent history of the individual colonies, the Confederation and the United States in the relation to the unsettled and unorganized territories within the limits of the first Federal jurisdiction. When the early English and French settlements were made on American soil, the all important needs and dangers of the struggling young communities were too near at hand, too pressing, too vitally important to present prosperity and to the preservation of colonial existence,

to leave either time or energy for considering the possibility of future territorial disputes. Land was almost the only element of prosperity of which there was no lack. It lay on every hand, untenanted and unsubdued. Once let the undefined title of the Indian be extinguished, and land was almost free to any man who owned an ax and had muscle and industry to wield it. Men, money and the articles of every day need, in the new settlements, had a value so far beyond the price of acres that it is not surprising to find boundaries ill settled and titles precarious; men more ready to surrender a claim and establish a new one than to enter a doubtful and certainly unprofitable contest; colonies more devoted to securing and developing what was surely theirs, than to extending or even defining their borders.

Those were rare old days, when kings, at St. James, repaid an intrigue with a half dozen counties, and at Versailles a witty epigram was the price of a province; rare old days, indeed, when Lord Fairfax held by free patent from the crown "all the lands between the Rapahannock and Potomac rivers," and when an earlier favorite was gravely endowed with a tract defined by a sea line of ten miles in North Carolina, "extending westward to the limits of North America."

The English settled on the Atlantic coast, and asserted a preëemptive right to the breadth of the unexplored continent, from Florida to the Canadas. The French settled Canada, explored the lakes, descended the Mississippi and filed their *caveat* to all the territory draining into the great lakes or the Mississippi and its affluents. Yet so apparently boundless, so little known was the new continent that, from Jamestown in 1607 and Quebec in 1608, until well toward the middle of the eighteenth century, the danger lurking in these conflicting claims had not proved ground of quarrel between two powers which held each other in such esteem that a less provocation has served them as pretext for more than one bloody war.

1763 The treaty of 1760, by which was extinguished the French claim to Canada and that portion of the present United States north of Louisiana, left the colonies without substantial claim or responsibility beyond their own limits. They were colonies, not nations. England fostered them and profited by them; but she was the landlord, they were the tenants. They existed, according to the theory of the day, by her sufferance. Hers was the eminent domain within their borders and, beyond, from the Alleghanies to the Rocky mountains, she held subject to the claims of France, not only the sovereign right, but the direct title to the soil.

Colonies had no treaty-working power except with the aborigines, and this existed only from the exigencies of the case. Having no treaty-making power, holding under the eminent right of Eng-

land, it necessarily follows that they had no power of acquiring and holding new territory except under special grant and authority of England, such as was given to the Virginia company, in the form of special trading privileges, akin to those of the Hudson Bay company. The mere occupation, survey and reduction of territory could not establish political control on the part of a colony, as it might were that colony, instead, a sovereign state.

All this may seem somewhat inconsequent, but it bears a vital relation to the claims made after the Revolution by New York, Connecticut, Virginia and other colonies, to sovereignty beyond the Alleghanies.

It should be held clearly in mind that the American colonies had originally no possible association. They were as independent of each other as are Australia and Canada today, the only circulation between them, was through England—the heart—to the various arteries from Georgia to Massachusetts. If, then, we suppose, for the sake of illustration, that England had voluntarily abandoned her American possessions in 1760, the local *status quo* being preserved, we should have had a number of independent and probably antagonistic governments, eagerly pushing their claims to territorial extension, and probably entangled with foreign alliances, which would have changed the whole complexion of the future. English protection preserved the great heart of the continent for Americans, and English short-sightedness produced a union in which was the only possibility of per-

petuating the title of Americans to the great central valley.

The treaty of Paris, negotiated with the United States of America, relinquished the territorial rights of England, within certain boundaries, to this new but perfectly recognized and independent government. The former colonies, as such, had first voluntarily surrendered all claim to independent power, beyond their own limits, by becoming parties to the various acts of the confederation, and these had ceased to be by the event of war. They existed thereafter only as states of a voluntary union, which union had, by their own consent, succeeded to the territorial rights of Great Britain, and hence seems clearly to have held exclusive control over all territory not organized and included within existing states.

Had the question of territorial organization come to the surface later, during the power of the Federalists, while Hamilton and his *confreres* were in the ascendant, it is far from likely that the claims of the various states, founded upon acts done during the colonial period, would have received the attention given them. Virginia, Connecticut and New York were most prominent in demanding distinct territorial extension, while other states, as, for example, Delaware, insisted that the public domain should be held as a trust for the public benefit, in which all states should equally participate. Jefferson was prominent in solving this problem—a man almost morbidly opposed to anything savoring of centralization. Had he desired to firmly establish a

principle, rather than simply to reach an accommodation, he might have justly held that the claims of the states founded upon incidents of their colonial status, could have had no force at the time of their inception, except as subject to the approval of England, then holding undoubted sovereignty; that England's rights had passed to the United States, and hence the claims in question must still be subordinate to the same sovereignty, administered by new hands. He might have claimed, too, that the colonies had ceased to exist, dying, as it were, without testament or issue, and that their rights had passed to the United States as sovereign. He might, best of all, have quoted the Compact of Confederation and the Declaration of Independence, assented to by all, which left no doubt of the supreme authority of the Federal government, save within the established limits of the states.

Had Jefferson and his associates unwisely guided their action by an exact measure of the validity of the various claims advanced, they would have aroused much bitterness and jealousy and would perhaps have involved the young republic in complications that it was ill prepared to face. If, on the other hand, they had limited the authority of the national government by the words of express enactment, they would have hesitated to assume the authority they did. As it was, however, they were too liberally and broadly statesmen to do either. They held the fundamental truth that a government must be supposed to hold the powers necessary to the administration of its

trusts, and, on the other hand, that reasonable concessions, not inconsistent with utterly essential prerogatives of the United States, are safer than stringent insistence upon lesser rights. They held that a large unassigned and unclaimed territory was admittedly under Federal control; that control implies responsibility, and that responsibility cannot be divorced from authority.

Beginning, then, with 1784, Jefferson's hand was constantly seen in the successive efforts to organize the Northwest Territory. During that year he introduced in congress an ordinance for the government of that territory, which embodied the exclusion of slavery within its limits, in words so clearly approximating those of the final ordinance, which became a law in 1787, as to leave no doubt that his influence was directly felt in the adoption of the latter measure. The final act was in the handwriting of Nathan Dane, but there is little question that its formulation, like that of the bills of rights and the Declaration of Independence, called into play the best wisdom of the best men in the country.\*

After many complications, repeated claims and important concessions, the ordinance was adopted July 13, 1787. In September of the same year the constitution of the United States came into being, and on the fifth of the following month the officers of the new territory were duly elected. A portion, and the most essential portion of this ordinance

was called a compact—and so it was, so far as the confederation and the individual state were concerned—but the persons who had made a settlement in the new territory previous to its adoption were not consequently parties to it, and only became such when they first voluntarily exercised the rights and accepted the privileges it conveyed. From that time, postdating the seventeenth day of September, 1787, they became fully committed not only to its provisions but to the constitution of the United States, adopted on the latter day. This ordinance—secured at the cost of a few concessions like those of the Western Reserve to Connecticut and the military reservation of Ohio to Virginia, involving a simple title to the lands, not at all a sovereignty—was one of the wisest and most far-sighted provisions of a time when wisdom and foresight seemed to have been especially granted to public men. It gave to citizens of the new territory all the rights, privileges and immunities for which the old had fought, and, in addition, provided for perpetual freedom from slavery, under whatever name proposed.

It has since received from all thoughtful students of history unmeasured praise as a masterpiece of wise and just statecraft, and still more highly may it be regarded for its extensive value as forever placing a limit to the ambition of existing states, disposing, once and for all, of disputes that might have meant disruption to the Union, and fixing beyond revocation the authority of the central government in all matters not relating to the economy of the states.

\*The ordinance of 1787 is discussed at length in Volume I of the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY*, pp. 49-51.



The discussion we have in hand, however, involves but one portion of the ordinance, namely, article five of the compact, so-called. That article is as follows :

There shall be formed in the said territory not less than three nor more than five states ; and the boundaries of the states, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession and consent to the same, shall be fixed and established as follows, to-wit : The western state in said territory shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio and the Wabash rivers ; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Port Vincent's due north to the territorial line between the United States and Canada ; and by the said territorial line to the Lake of the Woods and Mississippi. The middle state shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wabash from Port Vincent's to the Ohio, by the Ohio, by a direct line drawn due north from the mouth of the great Miami to the said territorial line, and by the said territorial line. The eastern state shall be bounded by the last mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania and the said territorial line ; provided, however, and it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three states shall be subject so far to be altered that, if congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two states in that part of the territory which lies north of an east and west line, drawn through the southerly bend of Lake Michigan. And whenever any of the said states shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such state shall be admitted by its delegates into the congress of the United States on an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatever, and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and state government ; provided the constitution and government so formed shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles ; and, so far as it can be consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period and when there may be a less number free inhabitants in the state than sixty thousand.

It will be observed that the section above quoted guaranteed to the state, possibly to grow into being where Michigan now exists, two rights—first, that its southern boundary should be fixed by

an east and west line drawn through the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, and second, that whenever the population of the state (*sic*)\* shall exceed sixty thousand free persons, or sooner if consistent, the said territory should be admitted to a full membership of the confederacy. Unfortunately this compact was what the law designates as a *nudum pactum*. It was also executed by persons foreign to its most direct interest. No legal means were given for its enforcement and no remedy for its breach. All depended upon the will of congress, which cannot be coerced.

The vast region which acquired a political existence by the ordinance of 1787, was almost without white population and quite without civil law. Its total number of white inhabitants was less than five thousand. The right of the strongest, held in check by the rude sense of natural justice, common in frontier communities, was the only force recognized beyond the immediate regions about the military establishments, and wandering hunters, trappers and traders were the only whites beyond the protection of these posts.

The garrisons, some of French and some of English origin, many of them having been held by both powers in turn, had attracted small and motely communities, quite as much in need of military restraint as military protection.

The dregs and offscourings of the westward movement, mere adventurers, without courage, capital or industry, gravitated to them, at places where

\* The ambiguous use of this word will be readily noted.

Indians and honest settlers might be swindled without danger of reprisal, and where the deadly and mysterious liquors used in the border trade could always be had. Honest and well-meaning people there were at the post, but not in numbers to create or sustain a high *morale*, and it is safe to say that no part of the newly organized territory had more need of restraining and directing wisdom than had the settlements in what is now Michigan. Founded under the decisive authority of the early missionaries of the church, and restrained by military force, these influences had been interrupted by successive wars and successive changes of control, until the people had fallen into most lamentable immorality. Drunkenness, unchastity, thievery and all attendant evils had reached a point that almost discouraged the efforts of the church and drew from Father Gabriel Richard, one of the greatest of its missionaries, a vivid and scathing description, well worth the reading, as evidence of the enormous difficulty of advancing the cause of civil order and morality.\*

The tremendous distances, the scattered and incongruous population, the dangers from Indian uprising, all demanded a strong man as governor, and made the appointment of a nonresident excusable if not necessary. But the selection of such an outsider was permitted to establish a precedent which has done infinite harm, by making the territories — after time and increased population have established their unity, attracted settlers of ample capacity and

laid the foundation of great local interests—asylums for political incompetents or political cormorants, where party obligations can be cheaply paid and foundered political hacks turned out for free pasturage.

The appointment of General St. Clair to be the first governor of the Northwest Territory has never been criticised, but the continuance of the custom after Michigan had become a territory in fact and a state by organization, until it had a population of nearly ninety thousand free citizens, was an insult to the intelligence of the community, a detriment to its advancement, and, be it added, very nearly proved disastrous to the last territorial appointee, who suffered himself to be laughed out of Michigan, thus, perhaps, averting stronger and more unfortunate measures.

In the latter portion of the year 1799 measures were set on foot by which the Northwest Territory was divided by a line extending from the mouth of the Kentucky river to Fort Recovery, and thence due north to the Canadian border. All that portion of the original territorial area west of this line received the name of Indiana territory, while that east thereof was set off to Ohio, though we find Burnet, in his 'Notes on the Northwest Territory,' constantly referring to it as the eastern district of the Northwest Territory, up to the time of its erection into a state. Perhaps he adopts this method to avoid confusion of its state and territorial existence, for it became a territory, under the name of Ohio, in 1800.

The establishment of this boundary

\* See Cooley's Michigan, pp. 141-145.

line bisected the lower peninsula of Michigan, by a line almost touching Mackinac island, and seems to have assumed that the territory was to be divided into three rather than five states—an assumption that led to years of misunderstanding and very nearly involved the shedding of blood. It had been preceded by the division of the united Northwest Territory into counties, and, in pursuance of this division, Winthrop Sargent, acting governor, had, on the eighteenth of August, 1796, set apart the new county of Wayne. Its boundaries extended from the Cuyahoga river westward, about to the dividing line now existing between Indiana and Illinois, and thence northward to the national boundary line, including all the subsequent territory of Michigan, as well as parts of the present states of Indiana and Ohio. Detroit was made its county-seat, and it is from this enormous area that Michigan's present county of Wayne has, by gradual clipping and paring, descended. By the division of Indiana and Ohio, Wayne county was divided as well, but its eastern portion remained for the time a county of the territory of Ohio.

Shortly after the adjournment of the territorial legislature of Ohio, in January, 1802, a census was taken, which showed a population of 45,028, and application was made to congress for the passage of a law authorizing that a convention of the inhabitants be called to form a constitution, preparatory to the establishment of a state government. This action was taken not by act of the legislature or by any official authority,

but by a mere petition; and the subsequent steps to the completion of the state government and its full admission were far from having the authority of the sanction of a majority.

Upon the petition presented, congress adopted an act authorizing the calling of the convention desired, upon the conditions, among others that do not affect us, that the much disputed line from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan drawn due east, should be accepted as its northern boundary, and that congress should be at liberty to establish a territorial government north of that line whenever it thought proper.

This was a sore blow to Ohio's ambition, but she was without standing in court, even had it been possible to enforce the terms of the compact of 1787, for her population lacked a quarter of the sixty thousand set as the minimum limit at which admission to stateship could be demanded as a matter of right. The enabling act was passed by congress April 30, 1802, and, notwithstanding its unwelcome conditions, a constitutional convention was duly called to meet at Chillicothe, November 1 of the same year. In this convention Wayne county was given no voice—a significant fact, when it is considered that her population had been included in the census upon the basis of which application was made and that Ohio so strenuously insisted upon jurisdiction of the territory within her limits.

The meeting of the convention was a stormy one. There was strong opposition to accepting terms as to territory or any of the other matters prescribed in

the act. Many delegates urged a delay of two years, by which time the population of the territory must reach sixty thousand and admission could be demanded. The constant recurrence of this idea tempts one to believe that these statesmen held the notion, that congress can be coerced by writ of *mandamus*. During the progress of the debate upon the boundary, and when it had almost been determined to swallow the bitter dose, a person present, who had traveled as hunter through the northern wilds, informed the convention that the popular idea as to the relation of Lakes Michigan and Erie was quite wrong; that the southern extremity of Lake Michigan is so far south that a line produced therefrom due east, will reach Lake Erie at a point far south of the Maumee, leaving Toledo and its fine harbor in Michigan. The most scientific were not at that time very exact in their knowledge of the geography of Michigan, and many persons in the convention had hoped, if they had not believed, that the vexatious line would not fall south of the River Raisin; few feared for Toledo, hence the hunter's announcement came with quite sensational effect. It threatened for a time to defeat the end of the convention, but the difficulty was finally glossed over by accepting the prescribed boundary if the easterly limit thereof should not fall south of the northern cape of the Maumee, otherwise that the northern boundary of Ohio should be a line drawn from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to such northern cape of the Maumee. After this the constitution was adopted

and, with due process of organization, Ohio became a state.

Upon the narrow basis of this exception, adopted purely *ex parte*, ratification of which was afterward repeatedly refused by congress upon this exception, coupled with the mere fact that its senators and representatives were permitted to take their seat under the organization then made, Ohio, for twenty-five long years pressed her claim to the disputed strip, and finally, always beaten upon the merits, won her point by a not over creditable compromise.

The enforced surrender of the coveted country beyond this line created great dissatisfaction, and no one seemed to feel more bitterly on the subject than Burnet, the able author above quoted, who was a member of the first territorial council of Ohio and for many years identified with her political affairs.\*

It is impossible, within these limits, to go at large into the arguments upon either side of this question, and it is superfluous as well, for the reason that the adoption of the constitution of Ohio, under the necessary permission of congress, and upon conditions which that congress prescribed and never modified, operated as a waiver of the antecedent rights, if any, which Ohio had, beyond the limits then fixed. It

\* Those interested in reading more extendedly of the legal and constitutional aspect of this dispute, cannot do better than to consult 'Burnet's Notes on the Northwest Territory' for a strong statement of Ohio's position and follow it by reading the able and judicial treatment given Michigan's side of the case by the Hon. J. V. Campbell, in his 'Outlines of the Political History of Michigan.'



may not, however, be amiss to say that Burnet founds his protest upon a construction of the compact of 1787, from which he deduces that congress had no power to create new territories within the original Northwest Territory. That the limits of three original states being expressly fixed, the new states north thereof could only be erected when they should have, respectively, within their areas, sixty thousand free inhabitants. He says, referring to the reservation on the part of congress of the right to create a territorial government north of the often described line, "the ordinance declared, in express terms, that that territory should remain a part of the state formed on the south of it till its inhabitants amounted to sixty thousand, which was not the case until the year 1835, when she formed a state constitution and was admitted into the union (*sic*)."

It seems to a disinterested reader that the section referred to (before quoted in this paper) does not so declare or provide. The only respect in which the states south of the line stand differently from those north of it, is that their limits are fixed upon the hypothesis that there be but three states, while the power is expressly reserved to congress to so far alter the limits of the three hypothetically bounded states, as to permit of erecting two others. Nobody can question the right of congress, had it been "deemed advisable" to admit Michigan as a state with her scanty population of 1788. Would the rest of the Northwest Territory have "remained a part of that state" in such a

case? Again, if Burnet denied the rights of congress to create a new territory, would he have admitted its power, had a part of Michigan remained a part of Ohio for twenty-five years, with another part attached to Indiana, then to sever two sovereign states and erect a new one from the disjointed alien fragments?

Deserting his main argument, Burnet goes into the intent of the framers of the ordinance of 1787 and says that, at that time, the maps extant represented the southern point of Lake Michigan as far to the northward of the point it really occupies. "On the map of the department of state, which was before the committee of congress which framed the ordinance," he adds, "the southern boundary of the lake was laid down as being near forty-two degrees north latitude, and there was a pencil line passing through the southern bend of the lake to the Canadian line, which intersected the strait between the River Raisin and the town of Detroit. When congress was in session in 1802, the old maps were supposed to be correct." He proceeds to argue that the ordinance should be interpreted by the light of this old map, as a court of equity would interpret a deed with a map annexed. Judge Campbell disposes very clearly of this argument, both as to its assumptions of fact and applications of law.

Burnet expresses the belief that the people of Michigan, or a large portion of them, would have preferred to remain attached to Ohio until they reached a population of sixty thousand, and at-

tributes the opposition of congress to a desire of the administration to secure in Ohio a state friendly to itself, and to its fear that Michigan, which had been warmly attached to the preceding regime, would, if amalgamated with Ohio, either prevent the erection of that territory into a state, or, failing in this, turn the scale of politics toward the opposition. This reads very much like an *ex post facto* theory, made to fit an unwelcome circumstance.

Michigan did not long remain an appendage of Indiana, being set off as a separate territory on the thirtieth day of June, 1805. She was bounded south by the line which need not be again described, west by a line drawn through the center of Lake Michigan from its southern to its northern extremity, thence due north to the Canadian line, and by the Canadian line to completion. It is impossible within the limits of this paper to give any connected account of the territorial history of Michigan, indeed such an indulgence would be foreign to the aim of the author, and, with brief reference to a few material matters, we must pass to the severe labors of Michigan, the territory, when brought to bed with Michigan the state.

A survey of the northern line of Ohio, "in accordance with the law allowing that state to frame its constitution," was ordered by congress in the year 1812, but by reason of the war with Great Britain, was not carried into effect until 1818. Then the boundary was officially established, and included the site of the city of Toledo with its harbor in Michigan. Indiana and Illi-

nois were admitted as states, the former with a northern boundary ten miles north of the first line, the latter, still worse, extending to forty-two degrees thirty minutes north latitude. Both boundaries were unjust and indefensible, but Michigan had neither a press nor a congressional representation to defend her. Both these wrongs were, with a trespasser's logic, later used to excuse the further wrong of Ohio.

In 1825, with the completion of the Erie canal, Michigan's prosperity began. She was too busy to quarrel. Shipping crowded her harbors; immigrants, of the best New England stamp, came in throngs. She began to grind her wheat and ship flour to the east. Cass, when Jackson came to the Presidency, was called into his cabinet, and Jackson began to apply to Michigan, as elsewhere, the fruits of Marcy's diabolical utterance. Michigan paid his political debts or her share of them. John T. Mason of Pennsylvania, a man utterly ignorant of Michigan's needs, was made secretary of the territory, while the appointment of a governor to succeed Cass was delayed. Mason soon resigned to go to Mexico. His son, Stevens T. Mason, was made his successor, and, during the time preceding the appointment of a governor and during the frequent absences of that officer later, Mason, a minor, was at the head of affairs, and this when there were thirty-three thousand free white people resident in the territory! Michigan did not like it and protested, but there was no recourse, and the only satisfaction to be gained from it was that the boy gov-

ernor proved an excellent officer and a zealous friend to Michigan. Jackson did not even leave the territory its judges, but removed William Woodbridge and his able associate, to make room for appointees from other states.

The dissatisfaction at Jackson's cavalier treatment of its just claims to consideration doubtless caused the agitation for admission as a state, which began in Michigan during the year 1832. The free population of the state was then more than fifty thousand, and wonderfully increasing day by day. A popular election was held in the fall of that year to test the sentiment on the subject, and the result was largely in favor of proceeding with the movement. Then came twin misfortunes—the Black Hawk war and the cholera epidemic—which held the matter in abeyance. Jackson's governor died of cholera, and left Mason to act in his place. In 1834 Michigan was enlarged by the addition of all the territory north and east of the Missouri and White Earth rivers and west of the Mississippi. This vast addition was understood to be but temporary, for the purpose of organization and immediate control. The population of the territory proposed to be included within the new state was, in that year, 87,278.

Early in 1835, congress was memorialized to set off the western territory, preparatory to organizing the new state, and on the fourth day of April of the same year delegates were elected to a convention to frame a constitution. The convention met on the second Monday of May, and, after due deliberation, adopted an admirable constitution, en-

tirely suited to the needs of the young community, which, when submitted to the people on the first Monday of October, was almost unanimously ratified. On the same day an election was held, resulting in the choice of Stevens T. Mason, governor; Edward Mundy, lieutenant-governor; judges, members of the legislature, etc. On the first Monday of November the legislature met and adopted as a rule for the election of United States senators that the two houses should first vote separately and, in case of failure to elect, meet for joint ballot. Proceeding to the election of senators, Lucius Lyon and John Norvell were chosen, the former upon separate and the latter upon joint ballot. It was also determined to postpone the institution of state courts until July, 1836, and George W. Jones, purposely selected from the portion of the territory beyond the limits of the state, was elected territorial governor.

With this brief outline we must dismiss the organization of the new state and turn to the troubles that attended its recognition and establishment. These were precipitated by Governor Lucas of Ohio, who, early in 1835, procured legislation in his own state, providing for the taking possession of the disputed territory and the selection of officers to administer its affairs. Whatever had been said or claimed, Michigan had been up to this time in peaceable and unmenaced possession of the debatable ground east of the Indiana line. She had formed it into a township known as Port Lawrence; she had built highways and had chartered a railway to pass

through it, which could have no legal existence independent of her right.

No sooner, then, had Ohio made this demonstration, than Michigan retaliated in its legislature by an act passed February 12, 1835, imposing heavy penalties upon anyone who should accept or hold office within the disputed area, under any other authority than of the United States, or of the state of Michigan. At the same time General John W. Brown, commanding the militia of Michigan, was ordered to expel intruders and preserve the authority of the state. This he did with exemplary vigor, among his exploits being the arrest of a party of Ohio surveyors. The Ohio legislature at once ordered out its militia, and appropriated three hundred thousand dollars for the "preservation of the laws of the state." For this Ohio was warmly rebuked by the secretary of state at Washington, and threatened with the power of the United States. The matter had reached such a point that the President was obliged to take notice of it and he referred it to his attorney general. The latter, Benjamin F. Butler of New York, unhesitatingly reported that unless congress had expressly conceded the territory to Ohio, it belonged of right to Michigan.

So far as the right and wrong of the matter is concerned, the whole dispute was settled at this point. It was the clear duty of the President to support Michigan and put her in possession of her rights at all hazards, but his interests were involved on the other side. Here were Indiana, Illinois and Ohio, three active, voting states, all of which

had infringed or sought to infringe the same right, arrayed against a non-voting territory. They would be alienated should he decide against them; a presidential election was coming on—so he compromised with satan and sent B. C. Howard and Richard Rush as "peace commissioners." What these men tried to do and how they tried to do it is a question gravely mooted; what they accomplished was simply nothing.

The President was enraged against Governor Mason for his connection with the state government and his zeal in the Toledo war. Recognizing him only as secretary and acting territorial governor, he appointed John S. Horner of Virginia to supersede him, instructing the new officer to ignore the state organization, its officers and its acts. Horner came on and found himself ignored. He pardoned offenders sentenced by the state court, but they still remained in durance. He attended a meeting of citizens held at the city hall, Detroit, July 12, 1835, when the following resolution was adopted:

*Resolved*, That if our present secretary of the territory should find it beyond his control, either from the nature of his instructions, his feelings of tenderness towards those who have for a long period of time set at defiance as well the laws of the territory as those of the United States, or any feelings of delicacy entertained toward the executive of a neighboring state, who has in vain endeavored to take forcible possession of a portion of our territory, to enable him to properly carry into effect the existing laws of this territory, it is to be hoped he will resign the duties of his office and return to the land of his nativity.

The secretary only waited to have the windows of his inn broken by a mob, which act of playful hospitality com-



pelled him to pass a night on the floor, then removed to the western territory, beyond the limits of the state, and lived many years a useful and respected citizen of Wisconsin.

The last campaign of the "Toledo War" occurred in September, 1835. The legislature of Ohio framed the county of Lucas, with Toledo as county seat and announced a determination to hold court at that city on the seventh of the month named, at the same time ordering levies of troops to protect the judges. Governor Mason ordered out the Michigan forces and, himself accompanying them, took possession of the city, and, while it was alleged that the court met secretly and adjourned, prevented any open session. The total casualties of these military operations were the cases of two horses, one from each side. The Michigan horse was paid for by the state legislature from sheer weariness, after its owner, Louis E. Bailey, had presented the claim annually for ten sessions.

The President now decided to try different tactics. Election was coming on and it was imperatively necessary to patch up a peace. Hence congress was induced to propose that, if Michigan would surrender her claim to the mooted strip of country she should have, in lieu thereof, the upper peninsula, as she now possesses it. At the direction of congress a convention was called to meet at Ann Arbor, September 4, 1836, to consider the proposal. In the interval nothing was left undone to secure its approval. The interests of state officers, the ambition of members elect of con-

gress, private greed, public pecuniary considerations, all were harped upon. The people were assured that, if not admitted before January 1, Michigan would lose her large share in the distribution of the surplus national revenue and of the proceeds of the sale of public lands, yet public pride was aroused, and at this meeting, the duly authorized and representative one, the proposal was decisively disapproved.

Not contented with this issue, the Jackson Democrats set on foot a movement within their own ranks. They passed the word from town to town and, on December 6, 1836, organized at Ann Arbor what has passed into history as the "frost bitten" convention, a body which, to quote Judge Cooley, "had no more authority than any party caucus," and promptly approved the compromise. Congress lost no time. On the twenty-sixth of January, 1837, the action of this gathering was received as genuine, the constitution was accepted, the acts of the state government were ratified and Michigan was admitted to the Union. Truly, in the words of Campbell, "A nation may do many things lawfully which it cannot do honestly."

By referring to the section of the ordinance of 1787, before quoted, it will be seen that, when certain conditions precedent had been fulfilled, a territory should be, and sooner might be, admitted to the Union. It is also provided that it shall be permitted to frame a constitution; nor is this provision so joined with the context as to lead us to believe that permission is to be considered a condition precedent. Now, Michigan, like Dakota,

framed a constitution and elected state officers before it became, by the act of congress, a state. Unlike Dakota, it put the machinery of this anomalous government in motion. Its judges sat on the bench and administered justice; its governor administered the law; it scoffed at and refused to receive a territorial governor sent from the capital to administer its affairs; it took an aggressive position towards Ohio upon the Toledo matter, and forced the Federal administration between the two exceedingly sharp horns of an exceedingly serious dilemma.

The acts of framing a state constitution and electing state officers, on the part of a territory not yet admitted as a state, might pass as simply *ultra vires*; such a performance might be gone through by any debating society; but when these officers were duly installed in the execution of their functions, and had actually given sanction to legislative proceedings, there existed an overt act which some too liberal persons might construe as little less than treason. If the Federal government felt disposed to literally interpret the compact, so called, contained in the ordinance of 1787, it must, on the one hand, use its power to prevent Ohio from intruding on the possibly-to-be-erected states on the north of the prescribed line, and, on the other hand, it must punish, or at least repress, the presumption which had erected an actual state out of a possible one.

John Quincy Adams admitted that the problem was one of the most vexatious that he had ever been called upon to meet, and the administration, wisely

for itself, compromised it, as we have seen, by offsetting the unwarranted assumption of the territory of Michigan against the encroachments of Ohio, by adding the upper peninsular territory to the aspirant, and by finally accepting the bastard emissions of the second Ann Arbor convention as authoritative, and showing us the anomaly of a state, first constructed by the popular will and against official precedent, finally admitted by the official act against the popular desire. Thus Michigan was created, but with the distinguishing good nature which had led her through many annoyances, she accepted the result and set to work to carve her future. The loss of Toledo and her birthright in the south was a severe blow to her at the time. The almost untouched wilderness to the northwest seemed poor recompense for her resignation. Time, however, has healed these wounds, and shown that events have not only logic but justice, for now, while the lost territory from one great lake to the other is, for the most part, but a strip of agricultural country with a mission apparently fulfilled, the northern peninsula of Michigan remains as a storehouse of lumber and mineral wealth for the world. Its great waterway leads to every market, domestic and foreign; railroads have touched at a hundred points and reach out to a hundred more; and, while the old Michigan and the lost Michigan of Ohio enjoy the memories of the past and the fruits of the present, it has more reason than any other region of the United States, east of the Mississippi, to reach out its hands confidently for the rewards of the future.

WALTER BUELL.

## B. F. WADE, THE POLITICIAN.

## V.

ACCORDING to American ideas every man, and woman as well, is born a politician. If the right of self-government is inherent, the right to the means of that government, though artificial, is a natural right, and as in association we cannot govern ourselves without governing others, government among Americans imposes mutual and reciprocal rights and duties. Under a universal abstention from the discharge of this duty, for even a short period, the visible government would perish. Any neglect of this duty by the better class, which seemingly is becoming onerous to many of it, is attended by grave mischiefs to the public, though the government goes on and will, however derelict they may become. There is nothing men so cheerfully undertake as the government of their fellows, curious as that may seem to the thoughtful. We saw Mr. Wade elected to the senate of the United States, but advised the reader there was much matter to take account of before we could accompany him to the capital. Something of his earlier political career, also a rapid sketch of the rise and progress of the great slavery contest, down to the time he entered upon his new duties. These labors are mainly for the younger readers, who will not take it amiss if I deliver into their easy appre-

hension an outline of what led to one of the great epochs of human history. Many who witnessed the earlier and less important incidents of it may care to have their memories revived, perhaps corrected.

If a relation, an institution common to all nations and tribes of men, is to be classed as a natural relation or institution, then is slavery of that class. It is a law of man's nature that he can only associate with men and brutes by finding a plane where they can associate in common, where, while he influences, governs them, they also influence him. If he elevates them they reduce him, and the more there is in common between them, the greater is their influence on him. A horse exercises great influence on many men, a slave on many more, hence the institution of slavery is the most hurtful of all influences upon a people. The higher forms of selfishness, which lead men to pursue their own highest good, would induce a people to abolish slavery, eradicate all forms of vice, and permit the fewest possible of a lower class. These considerations are too broad and absolute for more than mention. They range with the higher morals.

"Slavery," says a late English writer,\*

\* Dictionary of English History-Slavery.

"was in England never abolished by law, hence Lord Mansfield's decision in the Somerset case (1772) was without legal foundation." This is a misstatement. Slavery in England, at that time, was without legal foundation, and hence Somerset's master could not hold him there. At common law men could not be held as slaves by custom, no matter how universal, or long continued. Hence slaves escaping beyond the reach of the statute which made them such, to free territory, were free. So we ordained constitutions and laws for their return to slavery.

The law of the Somerset case did not reach the English colonies. Some of these were taken from Spain, notably Jamaica, where slavery existed. In others, as in the continental colonies, slavery was planted by England herself. Sir John Hawkins, as is said, made the first venture in this commerce in 1562 bringing a well assorted cargo of negroes and prayer books. Curiously enough negro slavery was introduced into Spanish America by the good Spanish priest, the sympathetic Lascazas, to save the more tender natives from servitude, under which they sunk. The Portuguese were the first traders in negroes to America, in which all the western maritime nations had a share. England finally by treaty obtained a monopoly of this commerce by the peace of Utrecht, secured by "the *Assiento*." Ten years after the Somerset decision, Clarkson, Zachary Macaulay, father of Thomas Babington, and Wilberforce, moved against the slave trade. Pitt's aid was secured in 1792. Effective steps were not taken till 1805 and 1806. The

heaviest blow was dealt in 1807. In 1811 to deal in slaves was made felony, and piracy punished capitally in 1824.

The English colonies politically, legally, morally and religiously, were a unit in the matter of negro slavery. Its opponents few, and had no hearing. Massachusetts enslaved Indians. Down to 1776, it is estimated that 300,000 native Africans had been imported into the Anglo-American colonies. The census of 1790, showed the number of slaves to be 698,000. In 1800, the slaves had increased to within a small fraction of 900,000. There were 1,100,000 in 1810; 1,538,000 in 1820; in 1830, 2,000,000; in 1840, 2,400,000. They had increased to 3,200,000 in 1850; in 1860 to 3,952,000, their last enumeration. After the Revolution some of the southern states abolished the foreign slave trade, while it was maintained at the north. Vermont was the first to abolish slavery, which she did in 1777. Pennsylvania by gradual emancipation in 1780, of her slaves, 64 remained in 1840. A judgment of the supreme court ended the institution in Massachusetts, in 1780. Rhode Island had five slaves in 1840, Connecticut had 17 at that date. New York, which had 20,000 in 1799, the date of her emancipation act, freed the last on the fourth of July, 1827. New Jersey also pursued the gradual process and had 236 in 1850.

The Revolutionary patriots declared all men born free, and tacitly held negroes not men, and so not within its meaning and spirit. It was of this quite universal sentiment of the Revolutionary period, that Chief-justice Taney, in the Dred Scott case, truly said: "At that



time it was generally held that negroes had no rights that white men were bound to respect."\*

The national constitution recognized slaves under the euphuism of "persons held to service in a state under the laws thereof," and pledged the states to their return if they fled from it, as so many did.†

For the purpose of representation in the national house of representatives, five persons thus held were counted as three, and congress was prohibited from legislating against the African slave trade for twenty years. July of the year of the production of this national instrument (signed September 17) saw the promulgation of "the ordinance of '87" (1787) which dedicated the great unknown northwest to freedom.‡

So stood this thing of slavery when the young states and younger nation, under its charter, entered upon their interesting career, unconsciously to be wrought upon by the ever active unseen laws of evolution, which mould politics,

\* Nothing better shows the spirit of the slavery contest, when that unfortunate case was decided and since, than the fact that this sentiment, excusable perhaps in 1776, but atrocious in 1857, attributed by one of the ablest and purest of American judges to the men of the preceding century, were popularly accepted, charged upon him, as *his sentiments, his judgment* of the black man's true status, on the day of its declaration. The old man died with this imputation strong upon his name and memory, and good men died believing it true.

† It was estimated that at least thirty thousand thus held reached and found shelter in Canada alone, where no fugitive law or rendition treaty could exist.

‡ The authority of which was called in question in the Dred Scott case, the power to pass it by congress.

government, morals, and religion, as all organic and inorganic matter.

At that time slavery was no way sectional. Thoughtful men in common everywhere vaguely regarded it as evil, temporary to be sure, and at some time in some way to be made rid of. We have seen the northern states dispose of it for themselves, also that some of the southern had put an end to the African slave trade, and we know that Mr. Jefferson and many leading southern men favored not only the ordinance of '87, but emancipation in their own states. The utter incompatibility of slavery with the institutions of a free people, resting on the declared equality of men by birth, so shocking to our logical sense now, was not then apparent. Men were too pressingly engaged with the devouring necessities confronting them on every hand, to study and speculate of the less obvious and seemingly remote dangers, then not deemed possible. There was a continent to subdue; many robust, strong free peoples to be made homogeneous, educated, governed; Indians to be dealt with; foreign nations to be treated with, fought with; cities to be built, rivers to be navigated, ways to be opened, commerce to be created—a thousand pressing things to be done. Slavery was a seeming means, a help, and not a bale. So things went their blind unconscious ways, as they always do. Slavery became sectional. Slaveholders were homogeneous. It became their bond of union. Long before the north was aware of its dominating presence, even at the south it had consolidated that

and became dictator. The great parties at the north were compelled to bid against each other for its aid. The way for it there was already prepared. The sentiment of the north was pro-slavery—always had been. Its conscience slept, had never been developed toward this thing. When that came to life, to seeing, and assailed slavery on its hitherto most indefensible side, it had become too profitable to part with, too powerful to be easily overthrown. It was the foundation and controlling element of southern civilization and industry. It needed but one thing more to become seemingly invulnerable—to be accepted as right in itself, approved of God, sustained by the Bible, accepted of his prophets and the patriarchs. The greatest work of slavery propagandists was in fashioning the southern conscience and church to this view. Enmeshed as it was in the constitution, constituting their property, their life, hope, memory and aspiration, this task was feasible, and in a few years effectively done. Rapidly and certainly with the accomplishment of this process, the north was also necessarily consolidated. Its morals, its conscience, its political necessities, united it. Slavery, itself a state of chronic war, is by necessity aggressive, bold and unscrupulous. Its enemy necessarily the north. It can live only by plunder and outrage. As long as the north aided or acquiesced in its aggressions upon other people, semi-peace ruled the sections; when it felt compelled to plunder the north, war was inevitable, and the more so as each

party would conscientiously believe it was right.

Some of the more prominent incidents, scenes and acts of the opening of the great drama, are to be mentioned.

In good faith to their national undertaking, the northern states passed laws for the rendition of escaping slaves. Slavery has been declared by able southern courts, a state of chronic war by the masters upon their slaves—a not modern doctrine, and thus the northern people became the active allies of the masters in their war upon their bondmen. These state laws were not satisfactory to the south, however, and in less than four years after the adoption of the constitution, and seventeen after the great Declaration, congress passed the first fugitive slave law—the first national departure from its preamble and bill of rights. This was followed sooner or later in many of the northern states by laws repressive of the rights of free blacks, glaringly by the state of Ohio, the first blossom of the ordinance of '87.

Ere the passage of the fugitive law, the Quakers of North Carolina emancipated their slaves, which the state speedily reduced again to servitude. Slaves escaped in large numbers from Georgia masters to the *Creeks*, within the state borders. When the *Creeks* were threatened with war on their account, they fled to Florida, becoming *Maroons*, (as the Spaniards of the West India islands called their runaway slaves, who maintained themselves in the mountains), where, uniting with runaway Indians (*Seminoles*), they sustained years of war

to avoid recapture, first in 1818 and in the times of Jackson and Van Buren. In 1800 congress reëstablished the slave code in the national capital. In 1803 the settlers of Indiana asked for a suspension of the ordinance of '78, to enable them to hold slaves. That year we purchased Louisiana, to become a slave empire, its far-reaching influences, a great factor in the destruction of slavery itself. In 1805 a proposition that the children of slaves born in the District of Columbia after that date, should be free, was rejected by congress.

In 1806, we broke off commercial relations with San Domingo, where black slaves were in arms for freedom, having just closed a war with Barbary to free white slaves. In 1810-11 Georgia sent an army into Florida, a Spanish province, to capture the *Maroons*, who, combining with the *Seminoles*, drove them out. Georgia seized the afterward infamous Amelia Island, which from that time became the headquarters of African slave traders, and other more honest pirates. Meantime we had abolished the foreign slave trade, and largely in the interest of the home producer of slaves, as it proved, a curious illustration of the doctrine of protection of home industry.

Slavery becoming economically profitable, men began to find it less immoral. The trade in slaves at the capital became so flagrant that John Randolph pronounced a phillipic against it on the floor of the house, in 1816. 1818 saw the first Seminole War, in which old Ft. Nichols, where the fugitives found shelter, was blown up with hot shot fired into its

magazine, and a few of the survivors were delivered to our Indian allies, for their amusement after known methods, a costly entertainment as negroes went. After two severe battles, General Jackson retired with doubtful honors and small profit. Georgia then clamored for the acquisition of Florida itself.

The first contest over the admission of a state occurred in 1811, on the application of Louisiana. The opposition was violent and bitter on the part of some New England men, not so much on account of its characteristic slavery as that it was a form of foreign territory —had been a foreign possession. \*

This contest excited little popular interest. Missouri applied six years later. Her case came up in December, 1818, and lasted for two years. The first great trial of the bands of the Union. Sudden and almost inexplicable was the deep far-reaching excitement it caused, ending in the famous compromise of 1820, and followed by a calm, a profound apathy, as mysterious. This rise, long continued, furious war, and its sudden subsidence, are still a problem of our political history. In this, slavery itself was the sole cause. The first battle, on Mr. Talmage's (from New York) amendment, prohibiting the further introduction of slaves, and securing the freedom of all slave children after a named date, passed both houses. At the next ses-

\* Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts, a remarkably able man, took the ground that the admission of a foreign possession and people was a virtual dissolution of the Union and threatened to give this effect to it if persisted in. So the first threat of dissolution came from Massachusetts. The same objection was with much force urged against Texas later.

sion, Maine and Mississippi both sought admission. They thus became united, remote as they were geographically, in the interests and genius of their peoples; in the all embracing arms of slavery. The contest was renewed with more than the first heat. Mr. Clay, though speaker of the house, became the pro-slavery leader of the floor. The house would not admit the two together; and Maine was unconditionally received in March, 1820. An enabling act containing the famous dedication of all the Louisiana purchase north of 36 degrees 30 minutes, was passed for Missouri. Angry and resentful, her people complied, but inserted also a provision against free negroes. When this constitution came up in congress battle royal ensued, with more than the former heat and venom. Twice the house rejected the constitution with this obnoxious provision. During the struggle, the Maine senators, Holms and Chandler, voted steadily with the south. Finally a second compromise was secured, by which the Missouri legislature were forever prohibited from giving effect to the obnoxious provision. She was admitted, and this startling and ominous episode, as it was regarded, and the spirits it conjured, passed into speedy forgetfulness. Stephen A. Douglas was then but seven years old. His voice was to recall these spirits, the Kansas border war—the prelude skirmishing of the real war, which was in the fullness of time to follow—coming out of the great compromise.

The next great step was the purchase of Florida, in 1821, and notwithstand-

ing the provisions of the treaty with Spain for their protection, an interminable war was begun to reduce the *Maroons*, their wives and children to slavery. In 1826 came the second great discussion of slavery in congress, on a proposition to send commissioners to the new southern republics, who had abolished slavery. The south feared for the institutions in Cuba and Porto Rico, and the remote consequences to themselves. The next year saw the debate on the long pending controversy with England, for the slaves deported by her in the war of 1812. The question was finally referred to the Emperor of Russia, who good naturedly awarded that England should pay the United States \$1,200,000.\*

We have glanced at the institution under English dominion. Long before any agitation for emancipation in this country, Elizabeth Heyrick, a Quaker lady, published an important work in England entitled, 'Immediate and not Gradual Abolition'† which finally produced a profound impression there, and led to a change of views and action on the part of the English abolitionists. Such advance had then been made that upon the assembling of the reform par-

\* After paying all the claimants for the thus stolen slaves, there remained about \$141,000. Toward the end of the Jacksonian reign, this was quietly paid to Georgia masters, to compensate for the children the slave mothers would have borne them had not the faithless things run off with the Indians! How that was divided, or by what rule, I never knew.

† Immediate abolition has recently been deemed as the wonderful discovery of the late Wm. L. Garrison, who is said also to have discovered Whittier, the poet. 'His Life' by his sons, vol. 1.



liament of 1832, the government announced its determination to bring in a bill for the emancipation of the slaves. The abolitionists demanded immediate emancipation. In 1833 a bill was passed abolishing slavery and providing for an apprenticeship of the slaves. This was disregarded by the masters in Jamaica, followed by a bloody insurrection in that land of slave insurrections, in which thousands were slain, when parliament abolished the apprenticeship and slavery disappeared August 25, 1838, in all the British dominions.

Things in this connection happened in the United States the year following, which recalls our attention to our seemingly forgotten immediate personage who now takes, if a brief, an important part, his first, in the incipient contest on this continent. With a pro-slavery sentiment pervasive through the north, slavery bold, arrogant, aggressive, had, as we see, then made large gains, rapid advance toward unquestioned supremacy in the so-called free republic. The open opposers of slavery were slow to appear, won few, and at the first unheeded north and south. Several books had been published against it. Anti-slavery societies had long existed. Between 1820 and 1830 several anti-slavery papers were published. Notably by Benjamin Lunday in Ohio, and Baltimore, Md. In this last William Lloyd Garrison served his apprenticeship in his press room as in prison, and then went to Boston where he planted the *Liberator*. Hammond, in the *Cincinnati Gazette*, produced a series of strong

articles against slavery. Theodore Weld had caused a secession of students from the Lane Seminary, on anti-slavery grounds, and had lectured through the north, then a very young man of remarkable powers. James G. Birney had arisen in Kentucky and gone north, a man of rare gifts and marked character. The American anti-slavery society had been organized and disrupted for difference of opinion as to whether, in a matter largely political, political action should be had. In 1831, John Quincy Adams took his seat in congress and was soon in open war against slavery, on the narrow and seemingly remote issue of the right of petition, logical only, because the illy advised slave-holders elected that issue. Mr. Adams was at the beginning no abolitionist, might never have become one, had not the war made by them on the right of petition compelled him to be one, born warrior that he was. He always opposed the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia until it should disappear in Maryland and Virginia. That same year occurred Nat. Turner's bloody insurrection in South Hampton, Va., followed by many pro-slavery riots at the north. Indeed, to begin with, the entire north had to be first conquered from slavery to freedom. The conquest, in fact, never was completed, while slavery anywhere existed, and it left many mourners there, over what, to them, seemed its untimely demise.

We have noted the early action of the Ohio legislature in favor of slavery. This was followed by various acts which

together came to be called the Black laws.\*

These together, the shame and reproach of the young state, were not satisfactory to Kentucky and Virginia, the south. There was the memory of South Hampton, the recent bloody insurrections of Jamaica and Demarara. England had abolished slavery in all her dominions, and notwithstanding actual murder, bloody riots, and burnings at the north, an anti-slavery sentiment was increasing there. The slave trade had actually been presented by a grand jury of the District of Columbia. Ohio was now in the hands of the Democrats, and she at least should be asked for additional safeguards and pledges. She was asked for them, and the most

humiliating incident of her history is to here find brief mention. She readily rendered what was asked of her. Mr. Wade was of the young Whig party.†

In the fall of 1837, as stated, he was elected to the Ohio senate by the Whigs, nominated without his knowledge or consent. He was then, as will be remembered, thirty-seven years old. The state was temporarily largely Democratic, both houses of the "general assembly" overwhelmingly so. Though one of the youngest members, he was at once placed on the judiciary committee, then the most important committee of the senate. At that time divorces were obtained by legislative action. A report of Mr. Wade's on this subject put an end to this practice. That was the day of roads, canals, really interstate improvements by state action—transitional period from old to new methods—and the financial collapse of that year (of which the reader has been reminded) led the people to look to the structure of public works as a source of relief. They clamored to have the state at once enter upon a wild scheme in that fatal field of municipal

\* The first act was in 1804. This required every black or mulatto, before he could reside in the state, to file with the county clerk of his intended abode a certificate of a court of record of the state, whence he came, that he was free. This act also authorized claimants of runaway slaves to make summary proof before any judge or justice of the peace that a named person was an escaping slave, when a warrant was to issue to the sheriff of the county, who was to seize and deliver him up to the claimant, to be returned. *First Chase's Statutes* 363. Two years later this was supplemented by an act requiring all colored persons before they could be permitted to remain in the state, to give a bond with two good sureties, conditional for their good behavior, and that they should be maintained, with stringent provisions against harboring fugitives. There was a section making blacks and mulattoes incompetent as witnesses in any case civil or criminal, where a white person was a party. *Chase* Id. 555. To the credit of the Supreme Court of Ohio, it should be stated that it held all persons with more white than black blood, white for all purposes, 4 O. R. 353, 11 Id. 372, 12 Id. 237, *Wright* 578. All blacks were excluded from the public schools by act of 1831, 3 *Chase* Id. p. 1872; they were precluded from lawfully becoming paupers by act of the same year, Id. p. 1832.

† While the patriots of the Revolution called themselves Whigs—the name of their English friends (derived from Scotland, first in derision by their enemies, who in turn were called Tories, a term of reproach derived from Irish outlaws), the name Whig was adopted by the young National Republicans of New York in 1834, who then supported young William L. Seward (who was a year younger than Wade) for governor of New York, but was then defeated by Marcy. The name was at once adopted by all opponents of the Jackson-Van Buren *Loco Foco* party (except the anti-Mason), then beginning to call themselves Democrats. Three-fourths of the voters of the Western Reserve were Whigs.

enterprise. The sagacious senator from Ashtabula opposed it with great vigor, as did several of his colleagues in both houses from his section. At that day the Western Reserve was as broadly marked from the rest of the state as was the north from the south at any period of our history. The measure prevailed. Mr. Wade suffered for his opposition, and the state suffered deeply because of the failure of his efforts.

Quite his first action was to secure the passage of a resolution against the annexation of the new republic of Texas, which passed the Ohio Democratic senate unanimously.\*

During the second session of Mr. Wade's term, in the winter of 1838-9, came the Kentucky commissioners, created by her legislature, and commissioned by her governor.† They came to secure the passage of a more vigorous and stringent fugitive slave law, although it had been shown that it was with the utmost difficulty that the existing laws could be executed, as they rarely were.

The utmost good feeling had until

recently prevailed between the people of the two states. They had fought the Indians together, and Ohio was grateful for the aid of gallant Kentucky, when invaded by Brock, Proctor and her own Indian son, the greater Tecumseh, in 1812-13. Indeed, most of the men of that day of peril and blood not slain in battle, or massacred by the foe, were yet in vigorous life. Recently, however, several slave-hunting cases had arisen in Ohio, of doubtful character, doubtful as to the real status of the alleged fugitives and the means of capture, which had disturbed the otherwise pleasant relations of two peoples.

The Kentucky commissioners were received with open arms by the majority of the two houses. In the senate but five opposed their wishes. Mr. Wade was quite the most determined as the ablest of these. They could only debate, delay and obstruct. The courtly Moorehead and his colleague waited upon the senator from Ashtabula, and in moving—quite pathetic terms—laid before him the tender and benignant character of the institution in Kentucky, where the slaves were barely servants, and treated more like children, yet would run away. Mr. Wade thought there must be some inexplicable mystery in this, when such a docile race sought every opportunity to escape from such parental love and tenderness. He had decided objection to becoming a slave hunter and bailiff, and asked if gentlemen like themselves ever engaged in the business in Kentucky. Moorhead admitted they did not. Price laughed and told his colleague that the northerner had him at disadvantage.

\*We are to hear much of this. Texas was first occupied by an American colony under a grant to Austin of Connecticut, in 1823. The colony was attached to Coahuila and governed with gross injustice, exclusively by Mexican methods. The first outbreak was against that state, and fully justified. The battle of San Jacinto was fought April 21, 1836. The United States acknowledged the existence of the republic, as an independent state, in March 1837. The project of its annexation to the United States became at once a *burning question*. It dictated policies, nominated and defeated Presidents, and was with the agitations consequent of the purchase of Louisiana, the immediate active cause of the destruction of the institution it was to perpetuate.

†Mr. Moorhead (afterward a Whig senator) and Price a Democrat.

"No," said the indignant native of the Feeding Hills, "you send your drivers rough and desperate to decoy, steal and kidnap them, and were I master here, every man of them should be placed in irons, and our people spared the pain and terror of their presence." It was in this spirit he met the bill. He assailed it when reported from the committee in all forms, details and provisions. It is to be remembered there was then no source or supply of anti-slavery arguments. The place of the Democratic legislative caucus was in a large upper room, of the Ton Tine coffee house, on the main street of Columbus. An elevated Whig member of the house, in his exhilaration on the floor one day, irreverently called it *Tin Pan*, and so it was ever after known. The bill was "*tin panned*,"\* and came up for final action in the senate at 9 a. m. of the twenty-first of February, 1839. Those were working-day times. It was passed in the form it then wore—a bill of fourteen sections alleged to have been prepared in Kentucky. It began with an elaborate whereas glorifying the compromises of the constitution and asserting the duty of Ohio in the premises as one "reaping the largest measure of benefits conferred by the constitution, to recog-

nize to their full extent the obligation it imposes," etc.

The minor provisions authorized the pursuing party before any judge, justice or mayor to swear out a warrant for the arrest of any alleged fugitive addressed to any sheriff or constable, whose duty it was to arrest the party anywhere in the state and return him before the officer issuing or some other judge, justice or mayor most convenient. It secured to the claimant sixty days to prepare for the hearing—no delay to the captured, who meantime was to be committed to the county jail. The hearing was summary, without a jury, and the warrant of the court authorized a removal to the state whence escape was made. Everybody was prohibited from interfering, or consulting as to means of interference with the pursuit, and from harboring, concealing or in any way aiding the pursued, or any fugitive, under severe penalties.†

The session ran from the morning of the twenty-first into the morning of the twenty-third. After midnight of the last hours, Senator Powers of Akron arose and delivered a strong, bold, vigorous manly speech against the bill.‡

† See act of February 26, 1836, 37 vol. Stats. of Ohio, page 38.

‡ Gregory Powers was worthy to stand, as he did, with the best men of Ohio. I never saw his speech. It was widely spoken of as a noble effort of manly argument and indignant eloquence. He was then not more than thirty-four, tall, dark, black-browed, one of the most promising men of the state. He died early. As was told us, the younger, he was compelled to argue a heavy case, with a severe cold upon his lungs, and died of the effects. I am glad to add this note to the memory of Gregory Powers.

\* Of *Tin Pan*, after the production of a batch of new judges, in 1839-40, the following *jeu d'esprit* had wide circulation:

Our vulgar English verb—create  
Means really this and no more,  
Nor less in fact—it is to make  
Things, of what nothing was before.

This power as said don't dwell with man  
That's mistake, it dwells in *Tin Pan*;  
I prove it mauler all your grudges,  
By its act of making judges.



It was two o'clock when Wade arose, weary but determined, to conclude the opposition to the bill. From this, as reported, I quote to show specimens of his then style of dealing with grave subjects, as well as the spirit, courage firmness with which he confronted the greatest issue of his country of any time. The details of the bill, as stated, had been discussed at its earlier stages. This was a final assault from the high and broad ground of large fundamental opposition. He began with a rapid sketch of the course of the majority, the efforts of its opponents in good faith to relieve it of some of its worst features by amendments. "In sullen silence you voted them down. No friend of the bill deigned to raise his voice in its defense." He then spoke of the treatment by the majority of its friends, obsequious to give them every opportunity, and churlishly denying every courtesy of needed opportunity, to its opponents to debate it.

Such are the contemptible expedients resorted to by you to silence discussion upon this infamous bill of pains and penalties. It shall not avail you. I stand here at two o'clock of the night, after a continuous session since nine of yesterday morning, and though I speak to ears that are deaf, and hearts impervious to right, justice and liberty, I will be heard, although from the servile policy manifested by the majority on this floor, I have no hope of arresting this measure—a measure which shall ere long stamp its supporters with deeper infamy than did the alien and sedition laws their inventors. Like the heroes of old, the champions of this bill, before taking up the gauntlet in its defense, have prefaced their remarks with a history of their own births, habits and educations. As I suspected, they were born in the murky atmosphere of slavery, or of parents who were. Were I to follow their examples, and speak of so unimportant a subject as myself, I would say I was born in a land where the system of slavery was unknown; where the

councils of the nation were swayed by the great principles of equity, where right and justice were deemed the highest expediency. My infancy was rocked in the cradle of universal liberty. My parents were of the Revolution; their earliest lesson taught me was to respect the rights of others, and defend my own, to resist oppression to the death; neither do nor suffer wrong; do to others as I would they should do to me, and though my venerated instructors have long since passed away, the God-like principles they taught can never die.

This elevated strain he pursued for some space, rapidly sketching the great genesis of free institutions of this country, and bringing into relief the startling departure from them that found expression in the measures under consideration. He made forcible reference to the ordinance of '87, which dedicated the entire northwest to freedom, freedom for all, forbidding slavery in all forms. He spoke of the great expectations of the great and wise men who declared this purpose.

Dare you disappoint them, and with them the hopes of the world? Did they intend you should become the mean apologists of slavery, throw down these barriers against its encroachments, built up with such cautious care. Make the state its great hunting ground, and this to reassert a title in human flesh, which the laws of God, of nature, your constitution, alike refuse to recognize. To affirm that these great men intended this is to pronounce upon them the foulest libel. Yet such is your argument. While I have a seat on this floor, am a citizen of this state—nay, until the laws of nature and nature's God are changed—I will never recognize the right of one man to hold his fellow man a slave. I loathe, I abhor the accursed system, nor shall my tongue belie my heart.

Proceeding then to admit that slaveholders for the time were safe behind their state barriers—"I ought not to disturb them there. There let them remain and cherish and hug the odious system to their hearts, as long as they can brave the focus of public opinion of the

nineteenth century." He taunted Kentucky with her pusillanimous position. Yesterday haughty, arrogant, calling "hands off;" to-day imploring help to catch her runaways. He would not thus become party in her great crime, would in no way aid in sustaining her in it. "Kentucky no longer asks you to let slavery alone, but to become active agents in its support. Mr. Speaker,\* do you approve of slavery? Let me answer for you—'No.' Would you deal in slaves? 'No.' Is it right to deprive a man of his liberty? 'No.' Can you then conscientiously, by your legislation, aid in doing all this? *Yes.* Mr. Speaker, I know you will. I know your servility."

Kentucky, he went on to say, having solicited our aid in support of slavery, would by this act be estopped from charging us with unwarranted interference if we should hereafter ask her to relieve us of the abominable burden, by the abatement of the nuisance. This idea he worked up with effect. He warned her not to make up an issue on slavery with Ohio, and especially not to put trust in this bill. "As a friend of Kentucky, as a lover of truth and fair dealing, one who despises deception, and who has some knowledge of the people of this state, I declare here, and now, in my place, your law will be of no validity it will remain a dead letter on the statute book. With the frankness of honest and honorable men, you should have declared this to the agents of Kentucky.

\* The president of the senate—Joe Hawkins at that time—was called the speaker, and as such signed himself.

Sir, your legislation is mean, deceptive, unworthy the dignity of this state, and you know it to be so." He asked, demanded, if the senators would aid in the execution of the law. "Dare you make a law which no decent man will execute?" he demanded further. He drew a strong picture of a community, once free, who should become so abject and craven, that an act of the character of the one under consideration, could be executed in their midst. He took higher—the highest ground, which he reverently approached—the "higher law," as it later was derisively called. "No one has yet compared your bill with the paramount laws. The subject has not been broached. Should your bill be found conflicting with their provisions, it will not only be void, but we must answer for consequences. You cannot violate these laws with impunity. If you oppress the weak and defenseless, no power can shield you from the consequences; the evil will recoil upon your heads, upon the heads of your children, to the third and fourth generation. Such is the order of nature—the will of God. The neglect of this great truth has filled the earth with violence and crime, from the first ages to this day. You cannot deprive a man of his liberty, however lowly and weak, without endangering your own. The practice of tyranny becomes habitual, weakens the sense of justice, respect for the rights of others, stimulates the malignant passions, engenders pride, renders a man helpless, dependent; is scarcely less fatal to the oppressor than to the op-

pressed. The influence of this example will remain when we are forgotten, to influence unborn generations and jeopardize the well-being of posterity."

He pursued this high theme at length, and drew this distinction between man's enactments and the laws of God. The first may be evaded, the latter execute themselves—the penalty inexorable. In the light of this code he proceeded to a careful analysis of the principles of the bill, especially the provisions denouncing penalties for acts of charity to the fleeing, famished fugitive from slavery. It had been urged that the comity of states required this act in behalf of Kentucky. To this he replied, comity could never require a mean, base or tyrannical act. In handling Kentucky's claim to our consideration, he cited with great effect several recent outrages of the Kentucky agents and authorities on citizens of Ohio, among them the once well known case of Eliza Johnson and John B. Mahan.

His discussion of the constitutional question, then comparatively new and fresh, was remarkably able, and his handling of authorities admirable. His plea for trial by jury, to settle the status of a claimed slave, has been rarely surpassed. He read a notable case from New Jersey supporting his view, and concluded that point in these words:

Does not the constitution of Ohio, equally with that of New Jersey, guarantee trial by jury? Are you dumb? Thank God, a crouching time-serving legislation is not the last resort, else freedom in this state would find a grave before this session closes. But the doings of this night must pass in open day, a sterner trial, before they can be made effectual, and you may read their doom in the case I have just cited. On this we meet again at Philippi.

"The night is far advanced" he said. "The measure under consideration by its friends is adjudged more congenial with darkness" and he went on for three columns more, to batter it and them out of the little remaining semblance of legislation and law-makers left to them. The threat of dissolution by the south was then chronic. He defied them to execute it.

His speech, like all complete work, needs to be taken entire. No quotation can do it justice; no description realize its force and effect to the reader, nor any reading give its effect as delivered. On going over with it now, one is surprised to see how little has since been really added to this great argument against slavery. It stands as one of the ablest legislative speeches of the state. It was amongst the ablest delivered against slavery. The whole subject was then new and fresh. It was a long stride in advance of public opinion, even on the Reserve. It was widely printed and read, and became one of the sources of education, argument and influence, ere the great anti-slavery cause was well in the milk—so to say of it.

Mr. Wade, as before said, was nominated for reelection at the October state election, 1839. His district had a Whig majority of four thousand. He was defeated by a majority of sixty, by the Democrat, Benjamin Bissell of Geauga, who was soon to press after him on the same side in the anti-slavery struggle. Whatever may be said, this result was due entirely to his course on the pro-slavery bill. As already stated,

the entire north was steeped in pro-slavery sentiment, every rood of which had to be literally conquered to the cause of freedom. The work was rapidly accomplished on the Reserve, and when, two years later, Mr. Wade was again placed before the people for the senate, no one thought of seriously opposing him.

I may, in anticipation, mention that this speech of Mr. Wade, and that of Mr. Powers, under the aroused sense of right, acting on the state pride of the Ohio people, made the Kentucky act utterly odious. No case ever arose under it. No man of the south had the hardihood to seek its enforcement on a

soil in which it perished at once. As Wade said, in the dimly-lighted old senate chamber, full of bad air, foul breaths, and mephitic vapor, it was a snare to the slaveholders, and the leaves of the Ohio statute book became its winding sheet, where it was laid dead from its birth. The state improvement act was also short-lived. The two were not lovely in such lives as was theirs, and they were not widely separated in their timely deaths—way-marks of the momentary weakness and folly of a great young people on their way to the van of the republic, where their lead was to be wise and their deportment modest.

A. G. RIDDLE.

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## TWO INTERESTING TRADITIONS.

### I.

#### KENTON AND THE ALEXANDRIAN.

SIMON KENTON is said to have been the representative character had in mind by the author of that famous old border ballad, "The Hunters of Kentucky," when he describes them as "half horse, half alligator," alluding, however, only to their courage and invincibility, not at all to bad qualities, as they were a noble group of men. He was born and lived until manhood on the identical ground famous in modern years as Bull Run battlefield.

The one dramatic love episode of his early days shaped all his after career, and no doubt had much to do in forming his character. His playmate from

infancy was a lovely little brown-eyed girl, a year younger than himself, daughter of a neighboring farmer. They were child-lovers, engaged soon after reaching their teens, an early match but not to be an early wedding, as their parents forbade their marriage until he was twenty-one. Kenton was a knightly fellow, of gigantic but symmetrical stature, and excelling in the accomplishments of that chivalric era and region. But "the course of true love never runs smooth." His betrothed had kindred in Alexandria, the then metropolitan city of that part of Virginia, and thither she went the winter she was seventeen, to pass a few weeks in fashionable and aristocratic society. Her rare beauty and simple country man-



ners attracted much attention and flattery from the Alexandrian beaux, and it is no wonder her young head was turned. She learned the invincible power of beauty, and came home with dreams of conquests. Kenton had lost none of his noble qualities either of looks or character, but in his lack of fashionable garb and society airs, of course he compared unfavorably with the Alexandrian admirers. Whether he at first detected the change in her or not is unknown; but he soon had his eyes opened, as the next summer there came out from the city, in all the regalia and style of his circle, that particular young gent who had been most profuse and acceptable in his gallantries to her during her winter visit. Now began a series of maneuvers most significant to the parties interested. The city man and the maiden sat and walked and rode together incessantly. Kenton noted it with grim amazement, his fond, proud, outraged spirit chafing like a jealous lion. The country people watched the proceedings with pained curiosity, anticipating an explosion ere long that might be serious to somebody.

Days rolled away. At length Kenton, by his mother's advice, sought an interview with the girl. But he found her inaccessible, adroitly evading even his eyes, unless when she was attended by the Alexandrian gallant. What next should be done? Kenton accounted himself well-nigh as deeply wounded as if girl were already his wife; and yet, in the eyes of law-abiding people, it would not do to proceed as if married.

As he frequently met the young men of the vicinity, his warm friends, they were not sparing of advice and suggestions of warlike nature, that being the fashion of the times; and when he seemed slow to appropriate their counsels, they taunted him with timidity in view of the stranger's reported prowess in the various arts of personal encounter. Even his own father said to him: "Simon, either give up the jade entirely and hold up your head, else show your mettle and drive the city fop out of the county. At any rate, act the man."

It would not have been surprising if Simon had felt some hesitation respecting a personal encounter with the man, for his own age was but seventeen, while the other was nearly thirty, muscular, practiced in methods of combat, and of unquestionable courage, having given good evidence of it on several occasions. But young Kenton was unacquainted with fear. He was crushed by his disappointment and by the unmistakable fickleness of her whom he had deemed so faithful and faultless. And he stated afterwards that his slowness to act proceeded from his growing conviction that a woman so vain and changeable was not worth a fight.

But the storm broke at last.

The young men of the vicinity made a harvest-home party for the express purpose of bringing Kenton and his rival together. It was held in a grove convenient to the homes of both Kenton and the girl, and every arrangement usual in those times was enlisted to secure an enjoyable occasion.

When the Alexandrian was invited he declined attendance on account of being a stranger to the whole company. But the messenger bearing the invitation was a man who would not flinch from saying whatever would accomplish his errand, and he exclaimed in a contemptuous manner :

"Ah! Are you afraid you may meet Simon Kenton there and have to settle accounts with him?"

This insinuation decided the high-mettled man, and he instantly replied :

"Kenton had nothing to do with my declining. However, if that is the way you view it, I'll be there, prepared to balance accounts with any comer."

Kenton also declined attending, but the hint that he feared to meet his rival touched his pride, and he declared his purpose to be present.

The evening arrived and the whole country was on the ground, either as guests or spectators, drawn together by the expectation of something spicy between the two men. The night was favorable and the forest scene was entertaining indeed, lighted by hundreds of pitch-pine torches, enlivened by happy voices and the music of banjo and violin, and the dancers threading the sinuous forms of the old Virginia reel.

The stranger was present escorting Kenton's betrothed, and Kenton was there to see the two together. The girl was lovelier than ever, her color and gayety apparently heightened by the crisis, and as she danced with his rival figure after figure, displaying the same charming ways that had always fascin-

ated Kenton, and which, hitherto, he had fondly deemed peculiarly his own by right of love and betrothal, the boy became fairly crazed with jealousy and despair.

Finally just before midnight, the negro musicians played a wild, minor kind of march, and the dancing changed for a time to a grand promenade. Now had arrived the opportunity desired by the young country "bloods" who had originated the party; for, according to their view, it would be an everlasting disgrace to them all to allow the city gent without opposition to win away the belle of the region from one of their number.

As the whole company were promenading round and round, to the sound of the weird tune, these fellows contrived to bring Kenton face to face with his rival and the girl. The throng was dense, and as they passed, Kenton's arm brushed her dress. She resented it with a motion and a word and instantly her escort halted, considering, according to the code of the times, that "whatever affronted his lady was trebly an insult to himself." Kenton also stopped. The Alexandrian glared at him and exclaimed: "Young fellow! what do you want of this lady?" Kenton drew himself up to his full height, six feet four, and replied in a scornful tone, "Nothing! now that she has taken up with a fop like yourself."

Like a flash the stranger drew his sword, he being probably the only man on the grounds thus armed, as countrymen did not generally carry swords. But hardly was the blade out of its scabbard when Kenton sprang forward

like a lion, clasped the man about the body, pinioning his arms and knocking the sword from his hand and raising him in the air as if he had been an infant, turned his head downward and feet upward and dashed him headlong upon the ground. Then stepping back he waited for him to rise. But as he moved not, several men came forward to assist him. They turned his face to the light and lo! his eyes were set, his features ghastly and his muscles relaxed.

Instantly one of the group turned to Simon and said:

"Kenton, his neck is broken. You've killed him."

A wild shriek rose on the air from the girl as she flung her hands above her head and fell in a swoon. A shudder passed through the company.

Efforts were made to resuscitate the Alexandrian, and after several minutes, there appearing no sign of life, another man took Simon aside and said:

"Now Kenton, you've killed the man and no mistake. He has rich and powerful friends in Alexandria who'll push you hard by law. You don't want to go to jail, and so you'd better take to the woods. You're safe in the back country, but not here."

Kenton was not a hard young fellow. His heart was appalled at the fact that he had killed a man, and gladly would he have done anything in his power to recall the deed or make amendment for it. But the mention of jail struck the chord, so common in high-spirited men, that cannot endure the shame of imprisonment; death is easier.

And turning his face to the westward,

he plunged into the midnight darkness and the great woods, and fled for his safety. Nor did he stay his journey for many a day. Having not only lost his intended wife, but her very image in his heart being defaced by her faithlessness, and now fleeing as a culprit, while to his sensitive nature the dead man seemed calling for vengeance against him, he hastened on, resolved to make his home in the Kentucky wilderness. And true to this purpose, he joined Boone and his little band of hunters on the "dark and bloody ground," and gave his rare physical and mental abilities to the wild and perilous life of the borders.

. . . . .

Eleven years passed; pioneers were increasing beyond the mountains; every part of the east had representatives there.

One day in 1782, as Kenton, in his canoe, coming down Licking river, rounded the last bend where it joins the Ohio, he saw a party of newcomers from the east just hauling their scow boat from the water, and apparently at a loss where to go or what to do next in that trackless region. Ever ready to render aid wherever needed, he joined them and volunteered to give them information concerning the country. After a long talk on matters of interest to them, he asked whence they came, and was answered "from Fauquier county, Virginia." He was startled by the reply. In all these years he had not heard from his native place; nor did he quite dare now to tell these

men his name lest he should find himself already a renegade in their estimate. Reflecting, however, that they would not know him, he carefully smothered every sign of special interest in their section, and indifferently remarked that he had some general knowledge of a few families in old Virginia, and mentioned the name of one. The men gave him some information as to that family, and then he named another. Again they enlightened him, and again he questioned, this time mentioning the Kenton family. The spokesman of the party replied :

"Well, the Kenton family have good blood, but of late they're very poor. Old man Kenton is far along in years, and his only boy ran away long ago. The young fellow had a love scrape and nearly killed a man from Alexandria, and then left. No doubt he thought the man quite killed and left to escape the law. But though he got well and married the girl, they never heard from young Kenton. It is generally believed he lost his life among the Indians."

During this recital concerning himself, Kenton's excitement, according to his own way of describing it, "raged like the Ohio in spring freshet."

Calming his feelings as soon as possible, he said in the same quiet tone :

"Well, strangers, I've often heard of that same Simon Kenton out here on the borders, and the last time not very long ago."

This particularly aroused the strangers' interest, and they inquired further about him, declaring emphatically that nobody in Fauquier county condemned

him, and that he need not hesitate to return at any time.

At this Kenton arose, stretched his gigantic frame, drew a deep sigh of almost infinite relief, and exclaimed in a broken voice: "Well, gentlemen, I'm Simon Kenton, myself, and I'm 'almighty glad to hear from my old father and to know that I'm no murderer. Of the redskins and tories I haven't been so careful during late years; but that was lawful war. It does me a world of good to learn that my hands are clean of the blood of my own countryman."

Within a few days Kenton took his way eastward through the wilderness for Fauquier county, where in due time he arrived and was received as one arisen from the dead. In a few weeks he returned, his aged parents with him, for whom, until their death, he provided every comfort of the times and region.

## II.

### KICHIKAN, THE POLISH LONG-KNIFE.

Among the foreign adventurers who, during the Revolution, sought commissions of General Washington, was a Pole by the name of Oginski, a sprig of one of the noblest families of Poland, or of Lithuania. Twenty years later he had acquired something of notoriety in Europe, but now he was known to Kosciusko and other Polanders only as an Oginski and as a matchless swordsman, possessing amazing muscular power, but of mediocre intellectual capacity and unscrupulous in ambition. He was not aware of his own mental mediocrity, as such men never are, and therefore, un-



duly magnified his importance, building claims to promotion upon his name, his conceit of personal ability and his wonderful skill in fencing.

Courage is the natural inheritance of the Poles, and Oginski was not wanting therein. He had done valiant service in the field against the troops of Frederick the Great, but had never shown qualities which seemed to Washington to justify placing him in a responsible command. Not so thought Oginski of himself. If Pulaski and other Polanders were worthy of place and honor in the American struggle, why not he, also? In the unhappy state of his own land, there was no occasion for his sword there, and against all European governments he and many of his countrymen were embittered. Therefore, unpromising as was the prospect, Oginski remained in the New World, haunting American camps and battlefields, disdainful of offers of medium commissions and stations, at one time teaching fencing, at another nursing his chagrin in retirement, and again volunteering for some battle and charging like a tornado at the head of colonial dragoons; always intent, however, on his own promotion, but never obtaining it.

In the years immediately succeeding the Revolutionary War, while peace prevailed, Oginski thought to gain his ambition by taking a hand in the reorganization of the army of the young government, especially by creating a demand for his own *forte*, the use of the sword, which he sought to promote by cultivating extensively the acquaintance of the officers. With this in view, he made a

grand tour of the frontier posts, exhibiting his prowess, and seeking to impress himself on the leaders. At several of the forts he taught classes of young officers; often he matched himself in an amicable contest, not against a single antagonist, for there was not a man in the American lines who could have stood before him an instant, but against a squad of troops with bayonets charging full tilt; and it is a matter of record that he proved invulnerable. At Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum river, he found assembled a party of friendly Indians, and the officers of the garrison arranged a good natured trial of skill between the Pole, single-handed, and half a dozen warriors. He took possession of a gateway to defend it against their onset, he armed with sword, they with tomahawks, the blades on both sides bound with deer-skin to prevent actual bloodshed. At a signal they rushed upon him, yelling and brandishing their axes as if in earnest battle instead of a mere trial farce. But Oginski stood his ground, and for twenty minutes not an Indian succeeded in striking him. Blow after blow was aimed directly at his head, only to meet a vigorous parry from the sword and be turned harmlessly aside. The handles were cleft from several of the tomahawks, and more than one of the savages received a stinging slap across the face. At the end of the contest the warriors named him *Kichikan*, an abbreviated Indian term of mixed origin, meaning *long-knife*. The name had been applied to white troops *en masse* before this, notably by Cornstalk at "Camp Charlotte," in 1774, but

never to a single man for his personal prowess. The fame of this exploit spread far and wide through the Ohio country.

At length began that fearful Indian War which witnessed the awful tragedy known as "St. Clair's defeat," and which finally closed with the victory won by General Wayne in August, 1794. This war was the crisis awaited by the adventurous Pole, and he shadowed the army officials, sanguine of obtaining a command. But, as hitherto, his lack of ability and judgment stood in his way. The bordermen would not enlist under him, suspicious of his prudence.

But there occurred one instance of self-forgetfulness and valor on his part, for which he deserved and received great praise. General Harmar was preparing an expedition into the Indian country, and with a desire to have a hand in it, Oginski undertook to raise a battalion of troops; but nobody rallied to his effort. Then he requested a position of that officer, but none was offered him save that of orderly.

His pride was so wounded that he resolved to leave a land so inappreciative of his merit, and started eastward. One afternoon he arrived at a little settlement in the Beaver valley, and being foot-sore and heart-sore, decided to remain the night. The place was a hundred miles or more to the eastward of the war-paths of the savages at the time, and considered so secure that the able-bodied men were off in the army with General Harmar, only women, children and a few old men remaining. The people at evening gathered into the

little block-house for the night, leaving three or four men on guard in the open gateway of the blockade, not deeming it worth while to employ other precautions.

Oginski took his place also at the gate, accustomed as a soldier to sleeping on the ground or wherever night found him, his weapons by his side. Nobody dreamed of danger from the red-skins, supposing them far away and fully occupied in operations against the troops.

But just at break of day the crash of gun-shots and the blood-curdling war-whoop told the people that the savages were at their doors. All was confusion and fright at the prospect of immediate slaughter. But Oginski sprang to his feet, drew his sword, and told the old men on guard to go in, close the gate, and fire at the enemy through the loopholes, while he held his post on the outside.

Immediately the Indians came rushing up to prevent the shutting of the gate and were confronted by this silent, invincible long-knife. The foremost warrior struck at him a furious blow with the tomahawk, but Oginski swept the ax from his hand and ran him through the heart with his sword. The next Indian tried the same thing and the Pole nearly severed his head from his body. The third savage, aghast at the strange foeman and his deeds, was more wary. In the meantime the gate was shut and fastened within, and Oginski's retreat was cut off, and fight he must, or die, perhaps both.

In a moment the whole band of Indians, nearly a dozen, collected about





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him as he stood with his back to the gate. A vain shot or two was fired, but savages seldom resorted to their guns at such close range, and so they dashed upon him with knives and tomahawks, only to meet the circling, flash-like blade, parrying every thrust and giving them many a fearful cut. Some one of their number remembered him as the man of the trial combat at Fort Harmar, and muttered in a frightened cry the word "*Kichikan*." That seem to unnerve them all. Here was the long-knife, with the charmed life and mysterious power. They hesitated and fell back, and when shots began to fly from the block-house and Oginski

rushed forward, they ran for the woods. Instantly the gate was opened, the Pole entered, and all were safe behind the stockade. He had killed four braves and routed twice as many more by the prowess and terror of his blade.

But he had seen enough of America. Sailing from Philadelphia soon after the above encounter, a few years later we may read of him in the history of Polish affairs in Europe. When nearly a quarter of a century had passed, there were still many white people and Indians in Ohio and the west who remembered Oginski, or *Kichikan*, the Polish long-knife.

IRVING BEMAN.

#### THOMAS H. LAMSON.

THOMAS H. LAMSON left his impress on the manufacturing and business interests of Cleveland, and when he was called into rest in August of 1882, the universal feeling was that a useful and high-minded man had been lost to this community. He belonged to that army of quiet workers who are known rather by their results than from any endeavor to appear before the public vision, or to be thrust in the front rank of public events. He was of an honored New England descent, while his boyhood was that of the boy of the east half a century ago; and, as has been said in one heartfelt tribute to his memory, "the story of his life is, in a sense, but a repetition of the straightforward, industrious Berkshire boy, his life apparently hemmed in by

circumstances as hard and immovable as the hills that shut in his little home; while he faithfully and patiently wrought his work at home till the growing power and strength within him found larger expressions in the larger world outside." In after years he used to tell with animation of casting his eyes upon the hills that hemmed in his home and bounded his quiet life, and saying to himself that some day he should pass beyond them, and discover for himself the new lands and dreamed-of worlds that lay hidden beyond.

Mr. Lamson was born in Sheffield, Massachusetts, on July 16, 1827. His father was a farmer, and his early years were divided between the labors of the farm and the school. Some months be-

fore reaching his majority, his father gave him his time, and he set out to begin life on his own account, empty-handed so far as goods or money were concerned, but rich in energy, high purpose, manly self-reliance, and moral character. He went to Southington, Connecticut, where he entered the employ of an uncle, who was a manufacturer of clocks. At the end of six years he had so far progressed in his new business as to be admitted as a partner of the establishment in which he was employed. In a couple of years this partnership was dissolved, and Mr. Lamson became one of a joint stock company engaged in the manufacture of carriage bolts, a branch of industry to the study of which he had been giving his mind for some time. Soon after his connection with this company, but through no fault of his, it failed, and he lost not only all that he had made in the company, but all the savings of the previous years of close labor. Determined to be useful and busy, and not cast down by this severe blow, he took a position of foreman in the bolt works of J. B. Savage of Southington. He remained there six years, and then formed a partnership at Mt. Carmel, Connecticut, with Walter W. Woodruff and William Willcox, and the business thus formed was sold two years later to the Peck, Stowe & Willcox company of Southington. But it was far from Mr. Lamson's desire or purpose to give up the special business to which he had turned his attention with such earnestness, and in which he had shown so much adaptability to its needs and requirements,

and he came to the determination to undertake it again. He accordingly formed a new partnership at Mt. Carmel with John Holt and Augustus Dickerman, for the manufacture of bolts. In a few months Mr. Holt's interest was purchased by Samuel W. Sessions, an early friend and associate of Mr. Lamson. Soon after this a younger brother, Isaac Lamson, purchased Mr. Dickerman's interest, and the firm so well known afterwards as Lamson, Sessions & Company, came into being. The causes that have operated in bringing so many of the iron manufacturing interests to Cleveland, influenced this energetic and wide-awake company, and accordingly in 1869 it took a prominent place among the industrial forces of this city. The site first occupied was that held later by the Hotchkiss & Upson company. When the company's new building on Scranton avenue was projected, Mr. Lamson was very much interested in all the details of its construction, but did not live to enjoy any of its comforts or advantages. In the memorial above referred to we find the following reference to the firm and its partners:

For several years at the beginning of this enterprise, Mr. John H. Sessions of Connecticut, a brother of Mr. S. W. Sessions, and warm personal friend of the other two partners, was associated with them; aside from that assistance these three men have had entire control of the business for over sixteen years, and have held most intimate personal as well as business relations. They have not only the memory that not one inharmonious word has ever passed between them, but the rare and notable fact to record that there never had existed among them a written word of contract. No note has ever been taken of the prolonged absence of any one of the

three gentlemen and not only does the "equal third" that stands on the books record the individual gains of each, but it also marks the spirit of unanimity that has always prompted whatever charity or public enterprise has been aided by Lamson, Sessions & Co.

Mr. Lamson's business qualifications were of the foremost character, as was shown by the material success that attended his operations. He was possessed of an absolute integrity, purity of thought and life, and a nobleness of purpose that marked each action of his life. He avoided publicity, and kept, as far as his business demands would allow, from any course or path that would lead him into the public gaze. It was in his home, and in his large circle of personal friends, that the warmth and generosity of his nature found its freest and happiest expression. His love for home was intense, and the enjoyment he felt in gathering his friends there about him was keen and deep. The first great sorrow of his life came to that loved home when, eleven months before his own death, his adopted daughter Lillian was taken away. "His wisdom" said one who knew him well "was as profound as his generosity was broad, and that earnest desire to give substantial aid where it would serve to make others most useful has been the means of helping many young people to fit themselves to aid in building up the cause of all that is good and noble in life; his sympathy for every rank and condition of life was wonderfully keen, especially for those who were passing through the same struggles he had known himself, for prosperity seemed only to strengthen the memory of every necessary sacrifice and self-denial that he had known."

His nature was as manly and simple as it was deep and strong, and his individuality was stamped on every work or interest that felt the touch of his hand. He was not only honest in his business and personal relations, but in the very nature and fibre of his being, and those who knew him well recognized honesty and truth in all things as among the most prominent traits of his character, and as dominating not only his actions but his thoughts as well. He was for twelve years a member of the Heights Congregational church, and was helpful in many moral and material ways to pastor and people. No better expression of the practical kindness and sympathy he was always extending to those who needed his help can be found than was conveyed in the following extract from a letter received by Mrs. Lamson only recently, in relation to the aid Mr. Lamson had given to one young man when just setting out in life:

The monument in Riverside is not more firmly fixed than his remembrance in the hearts of those who knew him. I, in particular, have reason to remember him—a kind, thoughtful, generous friend—for I feel certain that this position, which promises me so much useful and delightful work, would never have been mine but for his generosity in removing the material hindrance to success.

He was, indeed, a useful man, and when he was called away in the very prime of life, and when many avenues of usefulness and prosperity had opened to him, the loss to the community was great and universally acknowledged, while that of his devoted wife and many personal friends, was one that can never be told in the cold utterance of written words.

For some time before his death Mr. Lamson had been in poor health, and in the summer of 1882, under the advice of a physician and accompanied by his wife, he went to Lenox, Massachusetts, hoping that the pure air of his native hills would restore the vigor of former years. But instead of a change for the better he declined rapidly, and in a short time hope gave way to a fear that the seal had been set upon him, and that he was soon to be called into the other life. This fear became fact, and after two days of unconsciousness he passed away, calmly and peacefully, on August 17, 1882. Mrs. Lamson and a number of his closest friends were with him to the last, and, although his death occurred far from his home, it was by no means among strangers nor in a strange land. The beloved re-

mains were brought to Cleveland and laid away to rest in Riverside cemetery, followed by the respect of the community, the sorrow of many friends, and the deep and sincere grief of the few who loved him the most because they knew him the best. The employes of the firm of which he was a member attended the funeral in a body, and afterwards procured and placed in the workroom of the company a large and handsome portrait of their departed employer and friend.

Mr. Lamson was married on May 28, 1850, to Miss Abby Bradley of Burlington, Connecticut, and the two were permitted to walk together for thirty-two years in such love and mutual esteem as few are permitted to enjoy, and on his death many and touching were the expressions of sympathy for her loss.

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#### TERRITORIAL STATESMEN OF ILLINOIS.

In the January number, 1885, of this Magazine was published an article from the pen of Isaac Smucker, entitled "Our Territorial Statesmen," which gives the names of the officers of the territorial government of the Northwestern Territory, and of the members of the council and popular branch of the territorial legislature for the three sessions held by it during the existence of that government, and before the organization of the state of Ohio. We note from this article that of these early law-makers, John Edgar of Randolph county and

Shadrach Bond of St. Clair, were the representatives of all the settled portion of Illinois in the house of representatives in the first legislature, which convened in Cincinnati February 4, 1799. At the same session the council—which consisted of five persons selected by the President of the United States from a list of ten selected by the territorial house of representatives—did not contain a single representative from the Illinois counties. In the list of ten names furnished the President was William St. Clair, brother to the governor,



who resided in Cahokia, St. Clair county; but he was not selected, nor was the son of his excellency, Arthur St. Clair, jr., whose name appeared among the three presented from Hamilton county for the distinguished honor of membership in the territorial council. On the division of the Northwest Territory, in July, 1800, the territory now comprised within the states of Indiana, Wisconsin, Michigan and Illinois was separated from Ohio and became a new Northwestern Territory, with its capital "at St. Vincennes on the Wabash river," and was designated as "Indiana Territory." From this point our territorial history diverges from that of Ohio, whose people shortly afterward organized a state government and were admitted into the Union.

In January, 1801, Governor Harrison had convened the territorial judges, William Clark, John Griffin and Henry Vanderburgh, together with himself, into a kind of a legislative court, and had adopted "such laws as the exigencies of the times" required for the government of the new territory, as provided by law by congress for territories of the first grade, under the ordinance of 1787. Amongst other laws adopted by this *quasi* legislature was one establishing courts of quarter sessions in the counties of St. Clair, Randolph and Knox. After Louisiana had been purchased, it was, by act of congress (March 26, 1804), annexed to Indiana territory, and the judges, with the governor, were called together a second time—in October, 1804—to enact necessary laws for the government of the newly acquired ter-

ritory. Louisiana was detached shortly afterward (March 3, 1805) and erected into a separate territory—following Michigan, which had been detached at the same session of congress (January 11, 1805).

In the fall of 1804 (September 11) Governor Harrison had submitted the question of organizing a territorial government of the second grade to a popular vote, and the proposition having carried, an election for members of the general assembly was ordered for January 3, 1805. At this election Shadrach Bond and William Biggs of St. Clair county and George Fisher of Randolph were elected members of the house of representatives. The legislature convened July 29 following, by proclamation of Governor Harrison, and submitted ten names to President Jefferson, from which five were to be selected as members of the council. Governor Harrison, to whom this duty was delegated by the President, selected for the Illinois part of the territorial council, Jean Francis Perrey of St. Clair county and Pierre Menard of Randolph. This legislature held a second session at Vincennes, beginning August 16, 1807, but no change was made in the membership of either house.

By act of congress, approved February 3, 1809, all that territory included within the limits of the present states of Wisconsin and Illinois was constituted into a separate territory from and after the first day of March following, to be known as Illinois Territory, with its capital established at the town of Kaskaskia. To organize the new territory

John Boyle of Kentucky was chosen by President Madison to be its first governor, but preferring a judgeship in court of appeals of his own state he declined the proffered honor, and Mr. N. Edwards, chief justice of the same court, was, on the recommendation of Henry Clay, appointed to the vacancy. There were appointed as territorial judges Jesse B. Thomas, who had been at the session previous to that time a territorial delegate from Indiana, and who owed his appointment as judge to the efforts he had made in congress, very much against the wishes and interests of his Indiana constituents, to secure the separation of Illinois territory; Alexander Stuart, a Virginian, who was shortly changed to Missouri at his own request, and William Sprigg of Maryland. These with the governor, on the sixteenth day of June, 1809, constituted themselves into a legislative body under the fifth section of the ordinance of 1787, and reenacted such laws of the Indiana territory as were suitable and applicable to Illinois. Congress, by act approved May 21, 1812, raised Illinois to the second grade of territorial existence, and authorized by the same act the apportionment of the territory by Governor Edwards.

Several new counties had been in the meantime organized by the governor and judges, so that the election, when held, provided for the election of five members of the legislative council (the first ever elected by the people in the Northwestern Territory) and seven representatives, besides a delegate to congress. This election, held on the eighth, ninth and tenth days of October, 1812,

resulted in the election of the following persons:

DELEGATE TO CONGRESS:

Shadrach Bond, of St. Clair county.

MEMBERS OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL:

Pierre Menard of Randolph county, William Biggs of St. Clair county, Samuel Judy of Madison county, Thomas Ferguson of Johnson county, Benjamin Talbot of Gallatin county.

MEMBERS OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

George Fisher of Randolph county, Joshua Oglesby and Jacob Short of St. Clair county, William Jones of Madison county, Philip Trammell and Alexander Wilson of Gallatin county, John Grammar of Johnson county.

The legislature convened in its first session at Kaskaskia, November 25, 1812, and organized as follows:

OFFICERS OF COUNCIL.

President, Pierre Menard; secretary, John Thomas; Doorkeeper, Thomas Van Swearingen.

OFFICERS OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Speaker, George Fisher; clerk, Wm. C. Greenup; doorkeeper, Thomas Van Swearingen.

The first territorial general assembly adjourned on the twenty-sixth day of December, 1812, and convened in a second session November 8, 1813. It reenacted most of the laws in force in Indiana territory before the division, as comprised in the revision of John Rice Jones and John Johnson, and printed in 1808 by Stout & Smoot at Vincennes.

The second territorial general assembly convened at Kaskaskia, November 14, 1814, and adjourned December 24 of the same year. The members and officers of the council remained the same with the exception that Thomas Stuart was made doorkeeper of both houses in place of Van Swearingen, and William Mears clerk of the house. Of the membership of the house several changes were made, Risdon Moore, who

was elected speaker, and James Lemen, jr., represented St. Clair county, James Gilbreath (afterwards expelled) Randolph county, Owen Evans Johnson county, William Rabb Madison county, while Thomas C. Brown, afterwards one of the first judges of the supreme court, succeeded Alexander Wilson—who had died since the adjournment—as one of the members from Gallatin county.

Concerning this, Alexander Wilson, who John M. Peck says in his 'Annals of the West,' "kept a public house in Shawneetown, was a man of moderate abilities." The subsequent history of his descendants has rendered his connection with the first territorial legislature of much interest. His wife was a Harrison, a niece of Governor Harrison of Indiana territory, and the franchise at Shawneetown, then a valuable possession, having been granted him, he became—although a man of quiet and retiring disposition—thrust by the very nature of his surroundings, into public life. His early death prevented the development of what might have been a life of successful public service. He died highly esteemed in his own county, and left the heritage of a good name to his children. His oldest son, Harrison, was ensign of Captain Thomas Craig's company, in the war of 1812, and the Indian wars following. He was afterwards a captain of an Illinois militia company in the Black Hawk war, serving in the same rank, in the same expedition as Abraham Lincoln. A son of Captain Harrison Wilson is the well known cavalry raider of the late war, General James Wilson.

Another son is Major Bluford Wilson of Springfield, Illinois, formerly solicitor of the United States treasury.

The second territorial legislature held a second session beginning December 4, 1815, ending January 11, 1816. At this session William C. Greenup was made enrolling and engrossing clerk, and Ezra Owen doorkeeper of both legislative bodies. John G. Lofton was added as an additional member from Madison county, and Jarvis Hazleton succeeded the expelled Gilbreath from Randolph county. In the house of representatives, Risdon Moore continued as speaker, but Daniel P. Cook, afterwards the first and so long the only representative of the state in congress, was made clerk of the house, the first office he ever held in Illinois.

The third legislature began its first session on the second day of December, 1816, and adjourned January 14, 1817.

The members and officers were as follows:

#### COUNCIL:

Pierre Menard, president, Randolph county; John G. Lofton, Madison county; Abraham Amos, St. Clair county; John Grammar, Johnson county; Thomas C. Browne, Gallatin county. Secretary, Joseph Conway.

#### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

George Fisher, speaker, Randolph county; C. R. Matheny and William H. Bradsby, St. Clair county; Nathan Davis, Jackson county; Joseph Palmer, Johnson county; Seth Gard, Edwards county; Samuel Omelveny, Pope county. Clerk of house, Daniel P. Cook; enrolling and engrossing clerk to both houses, R. K. McLaughlin; doorkeeper to both houses, Ezra Owen.

This general assembly held its second session—the last session of the territorial legislature—on the first day of December, 1817, and adjourned the

twelfth day of the following month. The members and officers of both houses remained as they were in the preceding session, except that M. S. Davenport appeared as a representative from Gallatin county, and Willis Hargrove from White county.

It does not appear that any representatives attended at this session from Jackson, Pope or Edwards counties, each of which was entitled to a representative.

The constitutional convention which met in July, 1818, at Kaskaskia, to form a constitution for the state, had amongst its membership but few men who had served in the territorial legislature. The president, Jesse B. Thomas, was our old Indiana territorial delegate to congress, who had become afterward an Illinois territorial judge, and who was a delegate from St. Clair county. Among the members of the convention were James Leman, jr., George Fisher, Seth Gard, Willis Hargrove and Samuel Omelveny, five only, who had previously served in the territorial legislatures. The convention for the most part was made up of officers of the militia who had distinguished themselves in the late war, as Major Benjamin Stephenson, of Madison county, and who had succeeded Judge Thomas as delegate in congress, or substantial citizens like James Hall—afterwards state treasurer—Abraham Prickett, Enoch Moore, and Isham Harrison.

Of these territorial lawgivers and statesmen of the incipient state of Illinois, but few have reappeared in public life. Pierre Menard became the first

lieutenant-governor of the state and was a man of fine natural abilities. He was popular, intelligent, and possessed a high sense of honor. He was one of the best representatives of his class, the descendants of the early French population of the state. A fine monument is now being erected to commemorate his virtues, in the State house grounds at Springfield, the expense of which is being defrayed by the liberality of a wealthy French-American gentleman of St. Louis, Missouri, Colonel Charles Choteau. John M. Peck, Illinois' best and earliest historian in his edition of Albach's 'Annals of the West,' gives many short sketches of the *personnel* of these early statesman. He says of the first legislature:

Both bodies occupied separate rooms in a house in that ancient town—had a doorkeeper in common—and all boarded in one family. They did their work like men devoted to business matters. Not a lawyer or attorney is found in the roll of names. They deliberated like sensible men, passed such laws as they deemed the country needed, made no speeches, had no contention, and after a brief session of some ten or twelve days, adjourned." 'Annals of the West,' second edition, page 763.

Of one of these worthies, John Grammar of Johnson county, Governor Ford in his 'History of Illinois,' says:

He afterwards represented Union county frequently, during a period of twenty years. He had no education, yet was a man of shrewdness. After his election it is related that, to procure the necessary apparel to appear at the seat of government, he and the family gathered a large quantity of hickory-nuts, which were taken to the Ohio sachems and traded for blue strouding, such as the Indians wore for breech-cloth. When the neighboring women assembled to make up the garments, it was found that he had not invested quite enough nuts. The pattern was measured in every way possible, but was unmistakably scant, whereupon it was decided to



make a bobtailed coat and a long pair of leggings. Arrayed in these, he duly appeared at the seat of government, where he continued to wear his primitive suit for the greater part of the session. Notwithstanding his illiteracy, he had the honor of originating the practice, much followed by public men since, of voting against all new measures, it being easier to conciliate public opinion for being remiss in voting for a really good measure than to suffer arraignment for aiding in the passage of an unpopular one.

Many of these men yet live in the remembrance of the people of the state in their descendants, although their brief connection with the early history of the state lies buried in the dust of the past. While Mathony, Wilson, Bond, Prickett,

Bradsby, Thomas, Omelveny, Leman, Moore, Judy and Davenport, have long since gone the way of the world, leaving the brief imprint of their influence on the early laws of the state, as they had helped to fashion them in the territorial existence of our commonwealth. We have to-day in their descendants, hundreds of our better citizens to whom the pride of ancestry is dear, and the brightest legacy which descended from these of old, is the commendation—"They did what they could."

JOHN H. GUNN.

#### HISTORY OF THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO.

IN 1822 an effort was made to form an Ohio Historical society. The legislature passed an act of incorporation, but the society failed to organize. Nine years later the project was revived, and on the eleventh of February, 1831, the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio was chartered.\* The body was

\*The following is a list of charter members: Benjamin Tappan, John C. Wright and Dr. John Andrews of Steubenville; Arius Nye and Dr. S. P. Hildreth of Marietta; Appleton Downer, Dr. T. Flanner and E. Buckingham of Zanesville; Thomas James, B. G. Leonard and James T. Worthington of Chillicothe; Gustavus Swan, John M. Edmiston, Alfred Kelly and Dr. Benjamin Platt of Columbus; Joseph Sullivant of Franklinton; Dr. E. Cooper of Newark; R. H. Bishop, Thomas Kelly and James McBride of Butler county; Dr. J. Cobb, Dr. Elijah Slack, N. Longworth, John P. Foote and Timothy Flint of Cincinnati; John Sloan of Wayne county; Ebenezer Lane of Huron county, and William Wall of Athens.

organized at Columbus, Ohio, December 31, 1831, by the adoption of a code of by-laws and the election of Benjamin Tappan president; Ebenezer Lane and Rev. William Preston, vice presidents; Alfred Kelly, corresponding secretary; P. B. Wilcox, recording secretary; John W. Campbell, treasurer; and G. Swan, Edward King, S. P. Hildreth, B. G. Leonard and J. P. Kirtland, curators.

Among the leading members of the society in its first years, besides the above, were J. C. Wright, James Hoge, Arius Nye, C. B. Goddard, Joseph Sullivant, J. R. Swan, N. H. Swayne, M. Z. Kreider, J. H. James, I. A. Lapham, J. Ridgeway, Jr., R. Thompson, William Awl, Jacob Burnet, J. Delafield, Jr., J. B. Thompson, J. W. Andrews, W. D. Gallagher, T. L. Hamer, J. L. Miner,

William Wall and Simeon Nash. Benjamin Tappan filled the office of president until 1836, when he was succeeded by Ebenezer Lane, who gave place to Jacob Burnet in 1838. During all these years P. B. Wilcox was recording secretary, and Alfred Kelly was corresponding secretary until 1836. J. C. Wright was chosen president in 1841, and was continued in the office until 1844, at which date Judge Burnet was again elected.

At the annual meeting of December 1832, the president, Benjamin Tappan, gave an address on the general objects of the society, and S. P. Hildreth read a paper on "Floods in the Ohio river." In 1833 Hon. Ebenezer Lane delivered the annual address. In 1834 the annual address was by J. H. James, and a paper was read by Joshua Malin, on the "Meteoric Phenomena of November 13, 1833," and Mr. G. H. Flood pronounced a eulogy on the life and labors of Dr. Thomas F. Connor. In December, 1837, Hon. Timothy Walker delivered the annual address, and Mr. J. Delafield presented a series of letters from Hon. Jacob Burnet.

The society in 1838 issued its first publication, a pamphlet of one hundred and thirty-one pages, entitled 'Journal of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio,' containing Volume I. Part I. of the Transactions of the Society. It includes the act of incorporation, by-laws, list of officers for 1838, the annual address of Tappan and of James, Hildreth's paper on the "Floods in the Ohio river," a "Brief History of the Settlement of Dayton," by John W.

Van Cleve; a "Brief Description of Washington County, Ohio," by a member, and papers by James McBride on the "Topography, Statistics and History of Oxford, and the Miami University," and on "Ancient Fortifications in Butler County, Ohio."

In 1839 the second part of the first volume of transactions was published, containing addresses by Timothy Walker, James H. Perkins, James T. Worthington and Arius Nye; a series of letters addressed to J. Delafield, Jr., by Jacob Burnet, on the settlement of the Northwest Territory, and an address on the aborigines of the Ohio valley, by W. H. Harrison.

In 1841 Charles Whittlesey delivered an address on the expedition of Lord Dunmore of Virginia against the Indian towns on the Scioto in 1774. The next annual meeting was held in 1844. At that meeting Mr. J. Sullivant was chosen corresponding secretary and curator. I am able to furnish an interesting letter from Mr. Sullivant, written from Columbus, March 11, 1869, and giving a history of the transfer of the Historical and Philosophical society to Cincinnati, an event which took place in February, 1849.

Mr. Sullivant wrote:

I was one of the incorporators named in the charter, and attended every meeting ever held in Columbus; was an officer and curator of the society, and I am not aware that any of its meetings was ever held in Cincinnati previous to its singular and informal transfer, the history of which I now propose to give. After the organization of the society, the annual meetings and elections were held at Columbus in the winter, during the sitting of the legislature, at which time new members were proposed and voted for, some of them paying the initiation fee, and seldom

or never attending afterward, or keeping membership by their annual subscription. And so it went on from year to year—an annual address, proposing new members, and occasionally listening to original papers on local history; but it is a fact that very few of these papers actually passed into the possession of the society, being retained by the writers or withdrawn under some plea of alteration or revision. The meetings were usually in the representatives' hall in the old State house, the last two at the Neil house, and the one at which the transfer was made in a little bedroom third story of the same hotel. The first case belonging to the society was set up in the old room of the canal commissioners' office when I. A. Lapham was clerk, and this case was well filled with minerals, shells, fossils, antiquities and specimens of natural history by Judge Benjamin Tappan, Lapham and myself. Of books and pamphlets, Tappan and I deposited a number on science, early histories and antiquities, but other than these, few were received except from the general government, which sent many volumes of state papers, surveys, reports, etc. These books and collections were moved about from place to place, and finally pilfered and scattered beyond recovery, with the exception of two hundred and three moderate-sized boxfuls, which were turned over to a Mr. Randall, and *he it was* who first proposed and most importunately and persistently urged the removal of the society to Cincinnati. Mr. Randall, I believe, went to California, and died there. As has already been said, most of the papers read before the society were upon local history and antiquities, such as mounds and earthworks. The few prepared on natural history were so coldly received as to discourage the few of us engaged on those researches, and of course these papers did not pass under the control of the society.

I well remember when the names of William McClure, the father of American geology and of Thomas Say, the distinguished naturalist, both well known and appreciated in Europe, were proposed for membership. It was only after a good deal of explanation and some discussion that they were voted in.

It will be perceived that the society never had much vigor or vitality, nor could it scarcely have been expected, with its members widely scattered and meeting but once a year; and finally even the annual address failed, and its meetings had ceased for two years when Mr. Randall came during the winter and after the time of the annual meeting, and as he said on behalf of the Cincinnati Historical so-

ciety, and proposed and urged a union of the two societies. I was at that time secretary and curator of our society, and had the records in my possession, and explained to him that the proper time was already passed, and I had no authority to call a meeting. He still persisted, and as there was but little of value either in books, manuscripts or collections, and it was evident the society was failing of its purpose in its then existing condition, I thought there would be no objections, provided it could be legally done, if the charter would be of any use to a body of active and working members. Therefore I consulted here with the nominal and residing members, and with Mr. Chase, who was in the city and likewise favoring the change of locality. Finding no particular objections, I issued without signature a call for a meeting of O. H. & P. society at the Neil house.

Here let it be observed that of all those voted for as members, a large number failing to pay the initiation fee and conform to other requirements, never really became members. When at this time Dr. John Thompson, the society's treasurer, came to examine into the matter, it was found that there were not enough legal members to fill the offices of the society, for continued membership depended on the paying of an annual fee, and at the time of this called meeting not one person in Cincinnati was a member under the charter rules and regulations, and in this city but Dr. Thompson and the writer.

At the hour appointed, Dr. John Thompson as treasurer, and myself as secretary, proceeded to Mr. Randall's room, in the Neil house, where we met Mr. Randall and Mr. Chase, and then and there handed over the records, telling *them to make* such entries and records as would give the transfer a formal and legal sanction, and if the records *now* show any annual meeting of the society at that time in Cincinnati, where the "members of the Cincinnati Historical society were then elected members, and a donation of all the property of the Cincinnati Historical society, was then accepted," I apprehend the entries were made in accordance with the above understanding.

The Cincinnati Historical society was organized in August, 1844, with the following officers: President, James H. Perkins; vice-presidents, John P. Foote and William D. Gallagher; recording secretary, E. P. Norton; treasurer, Robert Buchanan; librarian, A. Ran-

dall. These continued in office until 1847, when the following were chosen: President, D. K. Este; vice-presidents, J. Hall and J. P. Foote; recording secretary, James H. Perkins; corresponding secretary, J. G. Anthony; librarian, A. Randall. In 1848 William D. Gallagher was made president, with James H. Perkins, Charles Whittlesey and E. D. Mansfield as vice-presidents.

In 1847 Dr. S. P. Hildreth presented to the society the manuscript of his 'Pioneer History,' which was published in 1848.

The first meeting of the Historical and Philosophical society in the city of Cincinnati was held in February, 1849. Then the two societies united; the members of the Cincinnati society were elected members of the older organization, and all the property of the Cincinnati society was donated. The election of officers for the year 1849 was held March 20. The following were elected: President, William D. Gallagher; vice-presidents, James H. Perkins, Edward D. Mansfield, Charles Whittlesey; treasurer, Robert Buchanan; corresponding secretary, A. Randall; recording secretary, Samuel B. Munson; librarian, G. Williams Kendall; curators, John C. Wright, John P. Foote, David K. Este, Edwin R. Campbell, Restore C. Carter.

Early in 1850 the constitution of the society was reconstructed. The primary object of the society was announced to be "research in every department of local history, collection, preservation and diffusion of whatever may relate to the history, biography literature, philosophy and antiquities of America, more

especially of the state of Ohio, of the west, and of the United States." The number of curators was increased from five to fifteen. The date of the annual meeting was fixed for the first Monday in December.

Mr. Gallagher was reelected president for 1850, and Robert Buchanan treasurer. On the eighth of April, 1850, a meeting was held to commemorate the first settlement of Ohio, the sixty-second anniversary of which fell on Sunday April 7. On that occasion Mr. Gallagher delivered an elaborate address entitled "Facts and Conditions of Progress in the Northwest." This was published by the society, with an appendix containing a sketch of the history of the society, the constitution and the report of officers for 1849. Hildreth's 'Memoirs of the Pioneer Settlers of Ohio' was published, under the auspices of the society, two years later.

The records of the proceedings of the society from 1850 to 1868 unfortunately, are lost. According to the best recollection of several old members whom the writer interviewed in 1869, E. D. Mansfield succeeded Wm. D. Gallagher as president, and Colonel Johnson, the Indian agent, succeeded him. John P. Foote was the next president, and after him Robert Buchanan held the office down to 1870, since which Hon. M. F. Force has been president.

When the society moved to Cincinnati, in 1849, it brought its library. The books and archives of the united societies were deposited in the front room of the fourth story of a new brick building on the corner of Third and Race streets,



Cincinnati. They were removed probably about 1853, to an apartment in the basement of the Cincinnati college, on Walnut street, between Fourth and Fifth. John P. Foote, in his 'Schools of Cincinnati,' published in 1855, says:

The room in the college building devoted to the society's library and its meetings is spacious and convenient, and the meetings which have been held there have generally been remarkably interesting.

The late George Graham, one of the most eminent and useful members of the society, gave me his recollections in writing as follows:

It was deemed advisable by the directors to discontinue the occupancy of the college, when the books, manuscripts, etc., of the library were bound up and taken, I think, to Mr. Buchanan's store. After remaining there some time they were transferred to the school library and placed in two alcoves, where they were to remain unmolested until called for by the Historical society.

This removal took place in 1860, as the records of the public library show. The public library was then in the Mechanics Institute building, corner of Sixth and Vine streets.

Hon. M. F. Force, referring to the struggling years of the society just after 1852, says:

Meetings were regularly held, and while the attendance varied, some nine or ten members were quite constant—E. D. Mansfield, Robert Buchanan, George Graham, Peyton Symmes, James Lupton, J. G. Anthony, Osgood Mussey, John D. Caldwell, A. R. Spofford and myself. There were constant though not large accessions to the library, and many papers were read, some of which were published in the newspapers. . . . Some members have died, others moved away, and at the close of the war there were four active members remaining in the city, Robert Buchanan, George Graham, John D. Caldwell and myself. Julius Dexter, Robert Clarke and E. F. Bliss became interested in reviving the society. Some of the four survivors, or possibly one, flocking by himself held a meeting and elected a number of

new members in May, 1868. Meetings were held about in offices till December, 1868, when an arrangement was made with the Literary club, and what was left of the library was obtained from the public library and moved into the rooms of the club.

At the meeting called for reorganization May 23, 1868, the following officers were reelected: President, Robert Buchanan; corresponding secretary, M. F. Force; recording secretary, Charles E. Cist; librarian, John D. Caldwell. Robert Buchanan was reelected in 1869. M. F. Force was elected president in 1870, and has been continued in the office up to the present writing. Robert Clarke was treasurer from 1869 to 1873, since which he has been corresponding secretary. E. F. Bliss became treasurer in 1874, and held the office till 1885, when A. H. Chatfield succeeded him. J. M. Newton was librarian in 1869, Julius Dexter from 1870 to 1880, since which time the important position has been filled by Miss E. H. Appleton.

The society republished in 1872, Part I, Volume 1, of its transactions, the Columbus edition of 1838 being out of print. In 1873 a new series of publications was begun, by the publication of the 'Journal of Captain John May.' The last publication to date of the society, is the 'Journal of David Zeisberger,' translated from the German manuscript, with annotations by Eugene F. Bliss. This, the largest and most important work yet issued by the society, was put forth in 1885. The trustees of the Cincinnati college gave the society the use, rent free, of five rooms in the upper story of the college building, to which the society moved April 1,

1871, and where it remained fourteen years. The growth of the society in that period was constant and vigorous. Contributions toward a building fund and an endowment fund were made and carefully invested. In the summer of 1885, the society purchased a fine three-story building on Eighth street, No. 115 west of Race and next to the Lincoln club building. Formal possession was taken of these commodious new quarters on October 15, 1885, when the president, Hon. M. F. Force, delivered a short address, concluding with the following words:

We have not moved into this comfortable home to rest from labor. It is only vantage ground for renewed zeal and larger enterprise. Two works on interesting and obscure points in the early history of Ohio are in competent hands, and will appear in due time. Twenty thousand dollars are due upon the purchase of the house, and there are only \$1,400 in the building fund. The deficiency must be made up. From the experience of the past, we can trust to the continued growth of the library. The cabinet must be enlarged. Ohio was the richest field for Indian implements and relics of the Mound Builders, but constant sale of collections to the eastern states and to Europe have carried off nearly all, and what little is left is apt to go in the same way. New Mexico has in like manner been parting with objects illustrating the life of the Pueblo Indians. Some collections are left, which can be got for a price small compared with their real value. Let us trust that some hand, guided by wise liberality, will rescue a portion before the opportunity passes away forever.

Members of the society, press on with unflagging zeal. Let your collections become so full that they will form a monument worthy of the city and the state—so complete that no question can arise concerning the history of the Ohio valley which can not find an answer on your shelves.

The object of the society, as defined in the present constitution, is to collect and preserve all things relating to the history and antiquities of America, more

especially of the state of Ohio, and to diffuse knowledge concerning them. I have mentioned the various publications of the society. It remains to give some account of the collections of its library and cabinet.

The number of volumes in the library at the time of the removal from Columbus is not now known. An accession of about four hundred volumes was received from the Cincinnati society. Sometime between 1849 and 1855 Mr. George T. Williamson made to the society a donation of several rare and costly works, chief of which was a set of 'Lord Kinsborough's Mexican Antiquities,' published at London, in nine large folios, elaborately illustrated. The first seven volumes of this magnificent publication are estimated to have cost \$300,000. Among other works understood to belong to Mr. Williamson's contribution are a number of volumes of old English chronicles in Latin, eleven volumes of English state papers of the time of Henry VIII; the 'Naval History of Britain,' by Hon. George Berkley, a large folio of seven hundred and six pages, printed in 1756; 'Register of the Great Seal of the Kingdom of Scotland from 1306 to 1324;' 'Acts of the Lords' Auditors of Causes and Complaints of Scotland, from 1466 to 1494;' 'Acts of the Lords of Council of Scotland from 1478 to 1495,' and a dozen or more other volumes of proceedings, ordinances, records, etc., relating to the early history of Scotland and England. Also the 'Journal of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New York,' in two volumes,

covering a period of seventy-four years from 1691 to 1751; the 'Laws of New York from 1691 to 1751,' and the 'Laws of Maryland,' by Thomas Bacon, rector of All Saints' parish in Frederick county, and domestic chaplain in Maryland to the Right Honorable Frederick Lord Baltimore. All these highly interesting works are in the library in a state of good preservation.

Besides the contributions of Mr. Williamson, a number of important volumes were donated at about the same time by Mr. Peter Force of Washington City. Among these are Mr. Force's own useful compilations, the 'National Calendar,' in several volumes, dating from 1820. The Smithsonian Institute favored the society with its contributions to useful knowledge, and the national government furnished Schoolcraft's 'Reports on the Indians,' and a vast number of valuable documentary works.

Some time before the year 1855, the books of the New England society, numbering about three hundred and forty-three volumes were deposited with the Historical society and became its property. The New England society was organized for the purpose of "perpetuating the memory of early settlers of New England," "extending charity to the needy of New England birth, and their widows and orphans," and "promoting virtue, knowledge and all useful learning."\* Timothy Walker was president of the society in 1847 and 1848. The

formation of a historical and antiquarian library was undertaken about the end of the year 1847. Contributions in money and books were obtained from prominent New Englanders residing in Cincinnati, and from Nathaniel B. Shurtliff and Samuel G. Drake of Boston. The books include a fair showing of reports of various historical societies, especially of the states of Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, with some of Connecticut, Maryland and Louisiana; directories of Boston and other cities; sketches of American antiquities and early history; chronological statistics; colonial records, accounts of early travel and exploration, etc.

When, in 1869, the books were removed from the Mechanics' Institute to the rooms of the Literary club, the efficient librarian, Mr. J. M. Newton, set about overhauling and classifying the collection. The discovery of an old catalogue revealed the loss of a number of volumes and many valuable manuscripts. Mr. Newton found that the library comprised in all, 700 bound volumes and 1,250 pamphlets.

But donations came in steadily. On the first of January, 1872, Mr. Julius Dexter, then librarian, began the tedious task of cataloguing the growing collection. He gave, substantially, two years of his time to the work. At the close of the year 1874, the society owned 4,967 bound volumes and 15,856 pamphlets, accurately catalogued and arranged. A collection of relics and implements of the Indians and Mound Builders had accumulated also.

\* It was chartered March 1, 1845, on the application of Henry Star, Nathaniel Sawyer, Bellamy Storer, Ephraim Robins, Lot E. Brewster, Salmon P. Chase, R. D. Mussey, Nathan Sampson, Edward D. Mansfield, Lyman Beecher, Henry Crane, Edmund Coge, Calvin E. Stowe, M. Flagg, Alphonso Taft, Ira Athearn, T. Woodrough, D. K. Cady, Jonathan Bates, Charles Fisher and others.

There are at present in the library 9,046 bound volumes and 40,150 pamphlets. The card catalogue of volumes and pamphlets is complete, and about one-third of the library has been shelf-catalogued in the new building.

The most valuable single collection in the library is that known as the Centennial collection, presented by A. T. Goshorn, comprising 67 volumes, 303 pamphlets, and many photographs, etc., the whole relating to international expositions, and specially to the Philadelphia exposition, of which Mr. Goshorn was manager.

The cabinet of Indian implements

contains a valuable collection gathered and presented by General Hazen. There are also many interesting historical relics, maps, pictures, portraits, etc., in the cabinet.

Through the zeal and generosity of Julius Dexter, M. F. Force, Eugene Bliss, Robert Clarke, Alexander McDonald, Frank J. Jones, A. T. Goshorn, S. C. Newton, John M. Newton, J. Bryant Walker, P. S. Conner, and a few others, the society formed an endowment fund, a life membership fund, and a building fund, the present aggregate value of which is above thirteen thousand dollars.

W. H. VENABLE.

## PITTSBURGH.

### IX.

J. C. RISHER.\*

Mr. J. C. Risher, who is still one of the active and stirring business men of Pittsburgh, and who has for twenty-five years been largely interested in the coal business, has spent his whole life in this vicinity, and has grown in years, wisdom and the honor and respect of his associates and the general public; along with the marvelous growth and expansion of the city that lies within the boundaries of these three rivers. Could we of these days be transported back to that time, seventy years ago, when his eyes first looked upon the world, we would begin

to comprehend, as he does, the changes that have taken place, and somewhat understand what a remarkable century is the present. He was the oldest of a family of nine, all of whom are yet living, and was born on September 14, 1815, in Mifflin township, Allegheny county, Pennsylvania, and with the exception of the four years in which his father, in the early years of his childhood, resided in Monroe county, Ohio, his home has been in the state of his nativity, and near Pittsburgh. His father, the late Daniel Risher, was also born in Allegheny county, in the year 1792, and with the exception of the four years above named, also spent his whole life

\*This biography was written by James Henry Seymour.





J. C. Risher

Engr. by E. C. Williams & Co. New York



in this vicinity. He was granted a long and eventful life of honest labor and industry, being for a considerable portion thereof engaged in milling, distilling and farming. He accumulated a considerable competence, and died in the eighty-ninth year of his age. During the early years of the subject of this sketch he followed pursuits similar to those of his father, but for the last twenty-five years has been largely engaged in the mining and shipping of coal, from Pittsburgh and his mines on the Monongahela river to the markets at Louisville, Cincinnati, New Orleans and other points down the great western rivers. In connection with this extensive enterprise, and indeed a necessary and important part of it, he has at his connected saw-mills and boat-yards, built a large part of the coal boats and barges used in transporting his coal from the mines to the market. His firm, that of J. C. Risher & Company, has in use a large number of barges and boats, used in this transporting of coal to the lower ports, and four tow boats, the *Smoky City*, *Tom Dodsworth*, *J. C. Risher* and *Monteray*. Some immense quantities are at times sent in these fleets, from two hundred thousand bushels to as high as six hundred thousand bushels of coal going at once. The latter quantities are possible only below Louisville, where the river enlarges and the Pittsburgh fleets are enabled to double up.

For the purpose of a permanent and successful coal business, Mr. Risher has secured a large body of the best bituminous coal to be found in the state, and located on the second pool of the Monon-

gahela river slack water improvement. The large number of men in his employ at that point, in the mines, saw-mills, boat-yards, and other labor connected therewith and dependent thereon, has caused the springing up of a large and thriving village, called Dravosburgh, and containing many dwelling houses, stores, two churches, postoffice, hotel, and other establishments. Here Mr. Risher's residence is located, and in his energy, at work through the great firm of which he is the head, is found the drive-wheel of the greater part of the business and prosperity there found. Mr. Risher some time ago laid out a town where he is located, and called it Amity, but on the name Dravosburgh being bestowed on the postoffice there located, he agreed to the designation and accepted the new name in place of the old. It is but fourteen miles up the river, and has constant connection with Pittsburgh over the Pittsburgh, Virginia & Charleston railway, operated by the Pennsylvania railway company.

In addition to this great coal interest Mr. Risher has touched on the business life of Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania in other points, and through many years of generous usefulness. He was one of the incorporators and founders of the Fort Pitt National bank; is a stockholder and director in the Tradesman's National bank, and also in the Citizen's National bank. In all his dealings in this direction he has shown that fairness, good judgment and business ability that have characterized his course in the main labor of his life. Through the demands of his business and in travels

for health and recreation, he has been able at some time or other to visit almost every state and territory in the United States, and having made two trips to California and the Pacific coast, where he visited the gold, silver and other mines that there abound, has obtained a general knowledge of the vast mineral and other wealth and resources of our land. He has close habits of observation and a logical mind, and the knowledge he has gained through the long life that has been vouchsafed him, is always available to his use, or open to the calls that may be made upon it by others. He has a most close and thorough acquaintance with everything pertaining to the coal business, or to transportation upon the great rivers, and is universally acknowledged as an authority thereon. He is respected and liked by those who are under his direction, and has as little trouble with his large number of employes as any man could possibly have. He is a thorough Republican, but has never had an inclination to go into the turmoil of politics, or to hold office. It is needless to say that he is a believer in a protective tariff. He can be found every day at his place of business in Pittsburgh, or about his works at Dravosburgh. He is active, energetic, and still full of an old-time vigor. The burden of his years lies lightly upon him, and one on seeing him move about, or hearing him converse on business or social topics, would never imagine that the dial of his life had touched three score and ten. He is one of the solid and reliable business men of Pittsburgh, honest and straight-

minded, and well grounded in the respect and honor of his fellow men. Mr. Risher has been twice married, and has a family of six children, four sons and two daughters, five of them being married and having children of their own.

WILLIAM M'CREERY.

THE record of a busy life is always instructive, and its incidents rarely fail to point a moral as well as adorn a tale. A panorama of the conflicts, victories and defeats of a lifetime, there is a charm in such narrations, even when the one whose story it is has long passed from existence. When, however, the individual whose biography is recited, stands in the prime of life, electric with activities, triumphant amid the trophies of well-fought battles, the record is magnetic in its interest, for expectation of the future mingles with the admiration of the past. In such a record it is not a phantom, moving in the misty vistas of past years amid dead issues and mouldering enterprises, with whom we are confronted, but with a living actor in the very scenes in which we ourselves are participants, and with whom we may perchance be brought into personal conflict, or touch elbow in the march of living issues. Life is so full of failures, so many wrecks of shattered plans and unsuccessful enterprises cumber the paths of commercial career, that where the record of a busy life is one of success, the reader seeks therein by what "charms, what conjugations" the smiles of fortune have been won.

In the record of William McCreery,

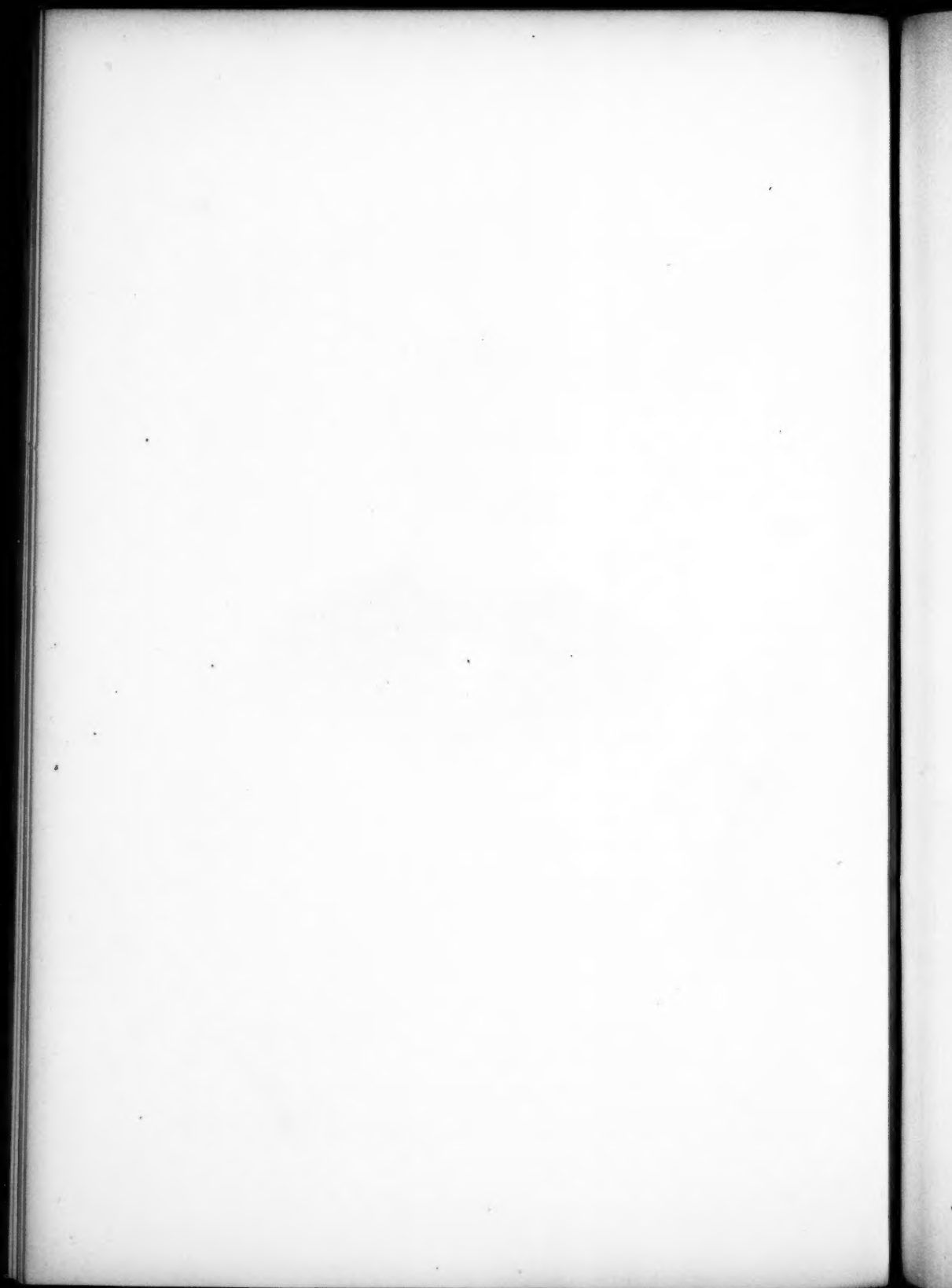




*Magazine of Western History*

*John McCreery*

*Engr'd by F. & W. Williams & Co. New York.*



the subject of this biographical sketch, the secret of success may well be sought. In the prime of life and mental vigor, he stands to-day amid completed enterprises a successful man, without a failure to condone in the thirty-three years during which he has brought nearly a score of business projects to successful ends.

Born in Washington county, Pennsylvania, on the fourteenth of August, 1828, nearly the entire years of his business life have been passed in the city of Pittsburgh, and he has become one of its representative men, especially in its railroad interests.

At the age of twenty-three years he came from Washington county, Pennsylvania, to Pittsburgh, to fill a clerical position in the commission house of Springer, Harbaugh & Co. With that firm he remained about two years. Desiring to become familiar with the dry-goods trade, he resigned his clerkship with Springer, Harbaugh & Co. and engaged with the firm of Wood & Oliver of Philadelphia, wholesale jobbers of dry-goods. With that firm he remained two years. In 1856 Mr. McCreery returned to Pittsburgh and originated the firm of Hitchcock, McCreery & Co., the first exclusively wholesale grain commission house established in western Pennsylvania. This partnership lasted without change or interruption for over a quarter of a century. At its dissolution, which occurred in 1883, it was the oldest continuous and unchanged firm in the city of Pittsburgh.

Having thus become interested in the commercial prosperity of Pittsburgh and

its future, Mr. McCreery at once began to take an active part in such public movements as tended to the advancement of the business interests of the community. The firm of Hitchcock, McCreery & Co. being large operators in grain, the importance of a "grain elevator" was to his mind apparent. With the decision of character which has always marked his business career, he promptly sought to interest the capitalists of the city in the erection of such a building. Through his personal exertions a company, of which he was elected president, was organized in 1860, with a capital of \$200,000, "to erect a grain elevator." This elevator was one of the largest in the country at that day, having a capacity of nearly one million bushels. Its cost, when completed, was over \$240,000. It was destroyed by the mob during the railroad riots of 1877, being burned to the ground. Its huge proportions will be remembered by all who had occasion to pass its site on their way to the depot of the Pennsylvania railroad, near which it stood.

The transactions of his firm bringing him into daily contact with banking interests, he became in 1858 a director of the Citizens' bank at Pittsburgh, which position he still fills.

A man of progressive mind and possessed of much public spirit, all movements for the advancement of the city of Pittsburgh commanded his attention. Broad in his views and looking to future rather than immediate returns, all enterprises that promised beneficial results to the city of his adoption had his hearty support. There were few public

movements for the general good in which Mr. McCreery was not a worker, and his biography, if written in detail, would be a recital of the commercial progress of the community of which he has been so active a member. Possessed of great natural energy and of a sanguine temperament, there was with Mr. McCreery no such word as fail. No obstacle that work could overcome was permitted to stand in his way. His portrait in this number of this Magazine shows to the physiognomist these characteristics and indicates great energy and will.

Mr. McCreery, at the date of his entering into the firm of Hitchcock, McCreery & Co., became a member of the Pittsburgh Board of Trade, and was an active participant in all its actions. He was for some time one of its vice-presidents, and chairman of some of its more important committees. In this body the question of transportation—a large factor in his own business—was frequently discussed. His attention was thus often called to the problems of freight discrimination and to the necessity of competing railway lines. From this arose his active and successful career as a projector and constructor of railroads.

During the war of the Rebellion the Mahoning iron works, which were then idle, were purchased by the firm of Hitchcock, McCreery & Co., John S. Dilworth and James M. Bailey, and put in operation under partnership style of McCreery, Bailey & Co. Of this firm Mr. McCreery was the managing partner for about seven years. There were

no transportation facilities at that time other than wagons, except the Ohio & Pennsylvania canal, by which the product of that iron furnace could be transported to market. As from natural causes that canal, being frozen or dry for nearly six months each year, being of little advantage, transportation was a serious question in the profitable prosecution of the Mahoning works. The Lawrence railroad projected to connect Pittsburgh with Youngstown, and by the Mahoning railroad, being without funds to complete its connection, was at that time virtually abandoned. Mr. McCreery saw the advantage such a short line would be to the commerce of Pittsburgh and its trade with the lake region, and how well it would solve the problem of transportation of the yield of the Mahoning iron works. As before mentioned, with him to see the benefit of an enterprise was to act, and he promptly proposed to raise the money to complete the road. This he did, being elected president of the corporation, retaining the office for seven years, and that road became one of the most successful in the land.

While engaged in this enterprise the project of a railroad connecting Pittsburgh with Ashtabula Harbor attracted his attention, and organizing the Ashtabula, Youngstown & Pittsburgh Railroad company, he built the road, being elected president of the corporation. That office he retained until the road was leased to the Pennsylvania company.

About this time a disagreement between Mr. McCreery and the Pennsylvania company on the question of



freights caused a severance of his amicable relations with that corporation. While the importance to Pittsburgh of a competing line of railroad to the west, wherein the city found its greatest market and food supply, had frequently engaged the thoughts and pen of Mr. McCreery, other business absorptions of his time left no leisure in which to mature such a project. The severance of his relations with the Pennsylvania company, in association with which corporation to some extent his previous railroad enterprises had been carried to completion, left Mr. McCreery free to mature his idea of an independent competing railroad from Pittsburgh to the west. The route now occupied by the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie railroad had aforetime seemed to him the most available line of construction. Further investigation satisfied him that such was the fact, and this he never lost sight of in his other occupations.

In 1874, Mr. McCreery proposed the construction of the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie railroad. At that time the failure of Jay Cooke had precipitated a great financial panic. Under the then monetary condition of the country and the natural opposition to be expected from a powerful corporation like the Pennsylvania company, the building of this road seemed a task too severe for the energies and financial calibre of even a master in railroad enterprises. Mr. McCreery was not, however, one who let "I dare not wait upon I would," but proceeded to interest with him a few other individuals of financial strength, and the building of the road

was determined on. In this project Mr. McCreery was no mere counting-house schemer, but gave personal labor in the field, having in his investigations of the route walked over the line several times. Under the opposition to be naturally expected from antagonistical parties, it was deemed prudent that the earlier surveys should be kept secret. To have put a corps of engineers at work to make a preliminary reconnoissance would have induced measures by antagonistic interests to forestall the enterprise. That work was, however, necessary to be done. Securing a competent engineer, whom he equipped in hunting suit with gun and dog, Mr. McCreery instructed him to make such engineering reconnoissance as was requisite. Though there may have been some comment along the line of the road at the non-success of the sportsman, no one had a suspicion that bigger game than squirrels or rabbits was being bagged; nor did the Pennsylvania company get knowledge that their preserves were being poached upon. As this is not a history of the construction of the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie railroad, it is not necessary to recite all the oppositions and conflicts its construction caused. They were many and serious. Never for a day, however, did Mr. McCreery lose confidence in the success of the enterprise. With untiring energy and determination, he labored by night as well as by day to accomplish the end. The end was triumphantly reached, and Pittsburgh is mainly to-day indebted to the energy of William McCreery for a line of railroad that

has not only unshackled her western transportation, but added greatly to the city's prosperity. In conversation, Mr. McCreery claims the conception, origination and successful *status* of the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie railroad as his best public work.

The railroad enterprises already mentioned would seem to have been task enough for any active temperament. Mr. McCreery, however, in the years between 1868 and 1882, found time to organize and build two street railway lines. The "Federal street and Pleasant Valley" and "The Peoples Park," passenger railways. Of both of these corporations he was elected president and still fills those offices. In addition to these he built, in 1878, the Monture Run railroad, and also organized and put into operation the Imperial Coal company. He was elected and still is the president of both of those companies. In 1874 Mr. McCreery built and equipped the Pittsburgh, Cleveland & Toledo railroads, now operated by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad company. In the course of thirty-three years, of business life Mr. McCreery, in addition to other occupations, has projected and built seven lines of railway, has filled eight presidencies, and is still president of four.

Throughout the period in which his time and energies were occupied, as has been narrated, Mr. McCreery did not lose interest in movements for local public good and philanthropic objects. In commercial matters a shrewd, close, man, in private life his heart warmed to any movement tending to the relief of the distressed, and he found time in the

midst of his exacting business duties to give personal service as well as pecuniary aid to charities.

At the outbreak of the war, in 1861, Mr. McCreery's feelings went out strongly towards his country and its needs, and his name is to be found in many of the local war committees of that time. After the battle of Shiloh he was among the most active in equipping and dispatching the steamboats that were sent from Pittsburgh for the relief of the wounded of that battle, and to bring back the injured. Both he and his esteemable wife, a daughter of the Rev. Dr. Rodgers of Allegheny City, whom he married in 1861, volunteered to accompany the relief expedition, went with and served as nurses on the boats. At the time, in 1862, that it was proposed to organize at Pittsburgh a branch of the National Sanitary commission, Mr. McCreery was foremost in that work, and was made, on its organization, chairman of its purchasing committee, which position he held until the close of the war. The duties of this office he performed conscientiously, buying himself nearly all the articles required for the commission's work, and frequently soliciting in the afternoon the money to pay for the supplies he had purchased in the morning to meet the urgent needs of the commission.

To aid the funds of this branch of the United States Sanitary commission, it was proposed a sanitary fair should be held in the city of Pittsburgh. This movement found in Mr. McCreery a prompt supporter and a faithful worker in its organization and its fulfilment.





Magazine of Western History

*John G. Jennings*

Engr. by S.G. Williams B&B N.Y.

By this fair, four hundred thousand dollars were obtained; of that sum two hundred thousand dollars still remains unexpended, the conclusion of the war rendering unnecessary further expenditures for the sanitary commission. That sum of two hundred thousand dollars was donated by the authorities of the fair as an endowment to the Western Pennsylvania hospital at Pittsburgh as a fund for the relief and care of disabled soldiers of western Pennsylvania. At the time this fund was donated by the managers of the sanitary fair, Mr. McCreery was designated by his associates as the proper person from the board of managers of the fair to direct the use of that fund in the board of the hospital. Accepting under this request the duties of a director of the hospital, he has continued to fill the position to this time. Since the death of General J. K. Morehead he has succeeded him as the chairman of the executive committee of the board.

Thus has been briefly sketched the more prominent features of a busy and successful business career, and the record leaves the man, whose more important enterprises are here recited, in the prime of life, with energies unabated and health unimpaired, to make that yet further record of success which is so probable to one of his active mind, industrious habits and business ability. Careful investigations backed by strong will, clear conceptions supported by firm decisions, unsparing labor aided by unflinching determination, public spirit sustained by personal integrity, are "the charms and conjugations" which

won the smiles of fortune, the moving causes of this successful business life, and point the moral for all who read the tale.

As retiring in social life as he is persistent and active in public affairs, Mr. McCreery makes no display with his well earned fortune. In the quiet circle of his family and a few friends he enjoys such social pleasures as his business engagements permit. The incidents of his private life this biographical sketch is not privileged to record. A firm believer in the truths of Christianity, Mr. McCreery has been for thirty-three years a member of the Second Presbyterian church of Pittsburgh. A man of unimpeachable personal habits, temperate in all things, genial in his temperament, charitable to the errors of others, generous to the poor and equable in disposition, the purity and happiness of his domestic life is readily to be believed, without violating, by "words of tongue or pen," its sanctities. \*

JOHN F. JENNINGS.

The men who laid the foundations of manufacturing and commercial strength on which Pittsburgh has been built, are rapidly passing away, and those who remain should be made to feel that the new generation has an appreciation of the past, and is willing to give a full meed of praise where it is due. John F. Jennings was one of this hard-working body of pioneers, and he has well earned the comfort and ease in which his declining years are being spent. His life

\*The above biographical sketch was contributed by George Henry Thurston.



has been a useful and a busy one. He was born in Waynesburgh, Greene county, Pennsylvania, on October 28, 1807. His ancestors came originally from New Jersey. His maternal grandfather, John Flenniken, while a native of Pennsylvania, was for many years a citizen of North Carolina, where he remained all through the Revolutionary War, serving gallantly as a member of that band that has passed into history as "General Marion's minute men." He was a delegate to the Mechlenburgh convention, which adopted the famous "Mechlenburgh Declaration of Independence" of 1775, and was one of the signers of that immortal paper. He was a man of high standing, and of great influence in the south. When the war was over, his wife having in the meantime died, he returned to Pennsylvania, bringing with him two children, a son and a daughter, the latter being afterwards the wife of Benjamin Jennings, and mother to the subject of this sketch. On Mr. Flenniken's return to the north he was appointed one of the first associate judges of Greene county, and served with honor and faithfulness in that position.

Mr. Jennings' paternal grandfather, Jacob Jennings, settled on the west side of the Monongahela river, on a farm. The son, Benjamin Jennings, while yet a minor learned the trade of a carpenter, and went to Waynesburgh, the seat of Greene county, which had previously been divided from Washington county. The town did not at that time contain a dozen houses. He assisted in building the first court house in the county. It

was constructed of several logs, and within it the courts were held until a new brick house, a very elegant one for the time, was erected. It included all the offices needed to carry on the public business, and also a very necessary appendage in the back woods of those days, a jail. The county was named after General Greene, the bosom friend and military companion of General Washington and La Fayette—and thus western Pennsylvania honors these three Revolutionary heroes by naming after them three counties that touch on each other—Washington, Fayette and Greene.

When Benjamin Jennings was married he brought his wife to Waynesburgh, but could find no house to live in save a small one of logs that stood on the farm on which the town was laid out. He had bought two lots on Main street, and was soon engaged in building two frame houses, a portion of the timber therein being cut from the main street of the town, and the remainder on what is now called the park, but was then known as the commons. The subject of this sketch was born, during the progress of this work, in the little log house that stood on what is now Greene street. The building has only been demolished during the last three years, to make room for the progress of improvements in that enterprising town.

Mr. Jennings' childhood and youth did not differ from that of the great majority of children. When he was about fifteen years of age he served for a time in a village store, but in a few months entered a printing office to learn the printers' trade. As his opportunities

for an education had been very meagre he earnestly applied himself to study, attending a grammar class at night, and becoming an expert in that difficult science. After completing his trade he was offered a position in the largest general store of the town, and accepted. He remained there nearly three years, receiving the rudiments of a business education which served him a good purpose in after life. By reason of close confinement his health began to fail, and he concluded to leave the store and go back to his trade. In 1830 he went to Ohio, and in St. Clairsville found an old office mate, who had learned his trade by his side, and who was none other than Colonel George W. Manypenny, who afterwards became a distinguished citizen of Ohio, and held many important positions, state and national. Mr. Manypenny had just bought a newspaper, and he wished Mr. Jennings to remain with him until he should get his establishment in fair running shape. He did so, and was there one year, when he went to Columbus and entered an office where he gave part of his time to his trade and a part to reporting the proceedings of the general assembly. Mr. Jennings had one advantage over the majority of his craft. Having learned his trade in a country office, he was taught all branches of the business, while the rest as a general thing understood but one branch. He could turn his hand to all forms of office work. There were no steam presses in those days, and there were but two men in the office who could run a hand press at all, and Mr. Jennings was one of

them, and as he was an expert therein he was soon materially advanced in the matter of wages. He had made himself useful in so many ways, and had worked with such industry and intelligent understanding of what was required of him, that when he decided to leave he was offered the foremanship if he would remain. But he had other purposes in view and declined. He returned to St. Clairsville where he worked until the next spring, and in 1833 removed to Pittsburgh, with forty-five dollars in his pocket, the sum of his worldly wealth, where he followed his trade and in 1835 became foreman of one of the offices.

In February or March, 1837, Mr. Jennings was offered the position of book-keeper and general manager of the Eagle cotton works, one of the largest factories in Allegheny, where all the factories of that section were located, and doing an immense business. To-day there is not one in operation. The machinery and business of the Eagle mill have been removed to Madison, Indiana. The grounds and buildings in Allegheny have recently been sold, to be diverted to other purposes. Mr. Jennings remained with the Eagle six years. In the spring of 1843 he went into the wholesale grocery and produce business in connection with James W. Hailman and John R. Blaine, under the firm name of Hailman, Jennings & Company. They had laid good foundations and were commencing to build up a large business, when they were overtaken by the great fire of 1845, and utterly ruined, losing not only what they had but being left several thousand dol-

lars in debt. The fire swept away two-thirds of the business portion of the city, and would have crushed a place in which the spirit of enterprise and progress was not as great as it has ever been in Pittsburgh. During the winter of that year Mr. Hailman and Mr. Jennings entered into partnership with William Coleman and Samuel H. Hartman, for the purpose of manufacturing steel. Blister steel was the only kind then attempted in Pittsburgh, and the spring steel was made from the blister. Mr. Jennings remained only one year with that firm; matters connected with the business did not run smoothly, but caused the development of considerable friction. He offered to sell his interest, and as some money had been made he was able to dispose of it at a good figure to a banking house. This not only enabled him to pay his proportion of the debt and stand financially square with the world once more, but left him a small capital in addition.

The time was one of development and advance in the steel business; the product was about to be applied to a new use, and there was not a mill in Pittsburgh prepared to make it. On his retirement from the above named firm, Mr. Jennings set about raising a company for the manufacture of steel, and several other articles that were the product of steel—spring steel, carriage and buggy springs, plow steel, etc. There had sprung up a great demand for steel plows, but no one had been able to furnish the steel. He succeeded in raising a good company that, before getting into operation underwent

some modification, and that was eventually composed of the following gentlemen: A. M. Wallingford, John F. Singer, W. K. Nimick, Alexander Nimick, John F. Jennings, Samuel H. Hartman and Felix R. Brunot. The firm name taken was that of Singer, Hartman & Company. Messrs. Wallingford, Nimicks and Brunot were the capitalists and silent partners, while Messrs. Singer, Hartman and Jennings operated the concern. Mr. Hartman was a practical mill man, and became the manager of the entire works, which soon became famous as the Sheffield steel works. The mill was constructed with a special view of adding the manufacture of plow steel slabs to the other lines of work. The slabs were run in lengths of ten to twelve feet, and ten to fourteen inches wide, and could be made to any required thickness. A very large demand for steel immediately sprung up, and as a result of the new manufacture, a large number of plow shops came into being in the west. The steel they made was of a good quality, and ready sale was found for it at remunerative rates. For over two years they had a monopoly in that branch of their business. Then other mills began to follow in their footsteps, but the Sheffield had the trade, and it was a long time before a breach of any size had been made in that part of their trade. They had fitted up a mill expressly for rolling plow slabs, and when the business was slack this was used for the making of boiler-plate and sheet-iron. The other part of the mill was running on various kinds of work, such as steel carriage and buggy tires,

crowbars, sledges, picks, and a host of other articles. The shops were running on springs and axles, solid box vises, and many other things of that character. They did at one time commence the manufacture of anvils, but the trouble of procuring workmen was so great, as they all had to be imported from England, that that line of business was soon dropped.

The work of making steel at that day was entirely different from that employed at present. No account of present methods will be attempted here, as they are so numerous and have been so fully described in special publications. But it will be of the greatest interest to look at the course followed in those days when America first commenced her growth in this great line of industry. In the course of preparation for this sketch I asked Mr. Jennings for a detailed description of the methods first pursued, and he kindly gave it to me, and is here reproduced: The plan was the old English process of conversion. The iron was rolled from a bloom of charcoal iron down to the size required, and a half inch thick. It was then cut to proper lengths, and placed in a furnace constructed for the purpose. In each furnace are two sarcophagi, or "pots" as the workmen call them. Each pot will hold fifteen to twenty tons. On the bottom of the pot is a layer of ground charcoal a half inch thick, laid very evenly and smoothly; then a layer of iron bars laid perfectly straight and smooth, then a layer of charcoal a fourth of an inch thick—and so on, alternate layers of iron and charcoal till the pot

is full; then a thicker layer of charcoal and the entire top covered with a layer of moist clay two or three inches in thickness, to render it as perfectly air-proof as possible. The other pot is treated in precisely the same manner. The fire is beneath, and the pot containing the iron and charcoal is surrounded with fire, the heat moderate at first, but increased by degrees till brought up to the standard (2000 degrees) and is kept steadily at that point night and day, and not for a moment allowed to be reduced till the iron is converted into steel, which takes seven to eight days. There are inserted in each pot trial bars, which are withdrawn one at a time when near the finish to ascertain when the iron is sufficiently carbonized, as it is a matter of importance that the temper be not too high or too low. When sufficiently converted the fire is let out, and after a few days of cooling, the top covering is removed which facilitates the cooling process. When sufficiently cool to be drawn, you will find the steel covered with blisters, and is then called "blister steel," the foundation of other steel. If it is intended for spring or plow steel, it is then heated and rolled down to the required thickness. The English then call it German steel, to distinguish it from cast steel. If for cast steel it is broken in pieces small enough to be put into crucibles, and melted in furnaces prepared for the purpose, and poured into a mould and it becomes an "ingot," and worked under hammers or rolls to any purpose desired. Now this was the only process by which steel was made when first in-



roduced into Pittsburgh, but is now almost entirely abandoned, and other modes adopted by which steel can be made in a few hours by chemical process.

Among other improvements introduced by Mr. Jennings was one which caused a complete revolution in the mode of supplying the plow-makers with steel, which proved to be profitable as well as satisfactory to both parties. Previously to this, the steel was furnished to plow-makers in the slabs, and they had to cut out the mould boards, shares, etc., by hand with cold chisels and sledges, a very tedious and laborious as well as expensive process. Mr. Jennings called upon two of the largest shops in Cincinnati and obtained their patterns, and proposed to cut their mould boards to shape, having constructed shears for the purpose. By this means the plow-maker saved the price of the scraps, which was of no value to him, as they would not bear transportation back to the works. He saved in freight on the weight of the scraps in the slab, and also in two blacksmith fires, which would be no inconsiderable item, as the average price of coal at that time throughout the west was twenty to twenty-five cents per bushel. The wages of four stout men were saved also. While the new plan increased the profit to the works, it was also a saving of twenty per cent. to the plow-maker. Of course the plan was followed by other shops, and it soon became the general mode of furnishing steel to the plow manufacturers throughout the country. The Sheffield works are still in operation, and are among the largest

concerns of the kind in the country. They have made many improvements, and added many new articles to their catalogue.

In 1862 Mr. Jennings sold out his interest in these works, and since then has been engaged in no active business enterprises. But he has by no means been an idler, nor allowed the fine powers with which nature has endowed him run to waste. No record of his life, however much in outline it might be made, could be complete were no mention made of his patriotic course during the War of the Rebellion. His heart and soul were in the Union cause, and he was not the man to stand idly by and see all the work done and all the burden borne by others. He turned in with all the power and energy within him to aid in the sending of soldiers into the field, and his services in that direction were of the most marked character. His oldest son, Benjamin F. Jennings, was there in the Sheffield office, and although only twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, was determined to raise a company of volunteers and lead them to the war. The father did not discourage him, but aided him in all ways in his power, furnishing no small sums of money from his own pocket for the payment of bounties to enlisted men. When a certain number of volunteers had been raised, the men were added to those of two other companies raised in that way, and became company B, of the one hundred and fifty-fifth regiment of Pennsylvania volunteer infantry. Mr. B. F. Jennings went out as second lieutenant thereof,



but earned a captaincy before coming home.

When Lee invaded Maryland, the governor of Pennsylvania called for fifty thousand emergency men. With other patriotic citizens all through the state, Mr. Jennings went to work and raised a company in Allegheny. Many of the people had allowed their sons to enlist under the expectation that Mr. Jennings was to be in charge of the company, and in order to make that misunderstanding good, he decided to unofficially accompany the boys to the seat of war. He went with them, and they reached Hagerstown just after the battle of Antietam. They remained there two weeks, until after the danger of Lee's invasion of the north was at an end. Mr. Jennings aided the Union cause in many ways, and was one of General Howe's most efficient allies and supporters in keeping western Pennsylvania alive to her full duty in those trying hours. He was often in Washington on business connected with military affairs and the carrying on of the war. On one occasion there was a new call for men, and sixty-five were assigned for raising in Mr. Jennings' ward in Allegheny to prevent a draft. A meeting of citizens was held and a committee, of which he was one, was appointed to procure the men. He went energetically to work, and the quota was soon filled at an average cost in bounties of one hundred and fifty dollars to each man, while from two hundred and fifty to four hundred dollars were being given elsewhere. He was of great assistance in the raising of One Hundred days' men,

and was the main instrument by which Allegheny sent five companies of them into the field, including his two younger sons, instead of the one that was asked for. His labors in this direction brought on a serious spell of sickness. In all his labors he made no charge to the government, but in addition to his time, influence and energy, he gave also a great deal of money to the cause that lay so near his heart. He was a member of the City, State and National Union league, and was one of its most foremost workers.

Mr. Jennings has been an honored and consistent member of the Second Presbyterian church of Pittsburgh for about forty years, and served for a number of years on the board of trustees. On several occasions when elections for elders have been held, he has been requested to serve in that position, but has as steadily declined. He has been vice-president of the Cash Insurance company since its creation, and still holds that position, although doing little active business of any sort. He was married on March 29, 1836, to Elizabeth B. Fitzgerald, daughter of Michael Fitzgerald, at that time a prominent silversmith of Pittsburgh. There were born to this union three sons and two daughters, all of whom, with the exception of one daughter who died in infancy, are still living. He lost his wife three years ago.

Mr. Jennings has lived a useful and honorable life. In politics he is a republican, but has never held an office, and has left his mark on the industries of his home city. The channels through

which he has made himself felt have not brought his works conspicuously before the world, but none the less has he done full duty and been of more use than many who have made a stir in the world. With a clean personal record, honored by all who know him and loved by those who know him best, content to have done the best the circumstances about him would allow, he is spending the afternoon of life in peace, and has no fear of the future toward which his face is turned.

THOMAS MELLON.

Among the notable and successful men who have given character and influence to the bar of western Pennsylvania, Judge Thomas Mellon of Pittsburgh has the right to a prominent place. During the last decade and a half he has given his attention to matters of personal business, but for thirty years of the best portion of his life he could be found at the bar or on the bench, doing one man's full and loyal duty, and gaining each day a new hold on the confidence and respect of the public. As a lawyer he had few peers within the circuit of his work; as a judge he was pure, learned and able; and as a man he has ever lived uprightly and with marked loyalty to every personal and public relation of life.

Judge Mellon is of Scotch-Irish descent, and comes of a family that has long been held in honor and esteem, and that has furnished many useful men and women to the world, and many examples of the highest worth. The genealogical tree of which he was one of

the latest and most worthy productions, finds its earliest traceable roots in a period over two hundred years back, or shortly after the massacre of the Protestants by the Catholics in Ireland in 1641. When Queen Elizabeth, soon after, drove the Catholics out of the country, large tracts of land were left vacant, and among those who poured in to occupy this land was Archibald Mellon and his wife Elizabeth, who came from Scotland and settled in the county Tyrone, province of Ulster. One of his direct descendants, grandfather of the subject of this sketch, was Archibald Mellon, who sold his ancestral home and emigrated to the United States in 1816. He died at his home in Unity, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, on September 5, 1835, beloved and respected by all who had fallen in the range of his acquaintance. His son, Andrew Mellon, was born on February 7, 1785, and in 1812 was married to Rebecca Wauchob, a descendent of a noted and honorable Holland family. He came to America in 1818 and settled on a farm in Franklin township, Westmoreland county, but afterwards removed to Monroeville, Allegheny county, where he died on October 11, 1856. He was a man of unquestioned worth, possessing a large stock of sound common sense, temperate habits and marked honesty. He read a great deal more than was usual with the farmers of his day, and had advanced and positive views on most questions. He was an old line Whig, with a great dislike for party politicians; and while a consistent Presbyterian, had no touch of bigotry.

His wife was a noble helper and aid in all the ventures of his life. One truthful and affectionate tribute to her worth has this :

As a wife she was a helpmate in all the qualities indicated by that forcible term, and as a mother she was all that tenderness and self-sacrifice could make her. Her strong common sense made her a valuable adviser even in the most important affairs. She had a philosophy of her own by which she gauged everything that transpired, and believed in the wisdom of desiring neither poverty nor riches, but struggling for wealth and competence as affording independence. She shunned extremes, and approved the middle course in life.

She survived her husband eleven years, and died on May 9, 1868, in the seventy-ninth year of her age.

Thomas Mellon, the oldest child of this worthy couple, was born on February 3, 1813, at Camp Hill cottage, on his father's farm, Lower Castletown, parish of Cappagh, county Tyrone, Ireland. When he was about five years of age his parents decided to follow the fortunes of the majority of their family, who had already emigrated to America. They landed at St. Johns, New Brunswick, as England at that time was in no friendly mood towards the United States and would clear no ships except to ports in her own domain. The voyage occupied twelve weeks, and on landing they reshipped on a coasting vessel to Baltimore, which they reached on October 1, 1818. After a couple of days there, the father chartered a Conestoga wagon and team, and the last stage of their long journey was commenced. At night they halted and slept in the wagon; their meals were cooked at fires built by the roadside; and finally their long isolation from those of their

own blood was broken by arriving at the homes of their relatives in Greensburg, Westmoreland county. In the April following they removed to a farm of their own purchase, in Franklin township, and felt that they had indeed at last found a home and a welcome in the new land across the sea.

In this home Thomas Mellon passed the next fifteen years of his life, covering the period of youth, and taking him up to the door of that manhood of which he has made such noble use. It was in the home training of those years that there were implanted in his nature those root principles of right and duty, tenacity of purpose, patient industry, and perseverance in well-doing which have accompanied him through life. His work was severe at times, and there were not many luxuries to be had in those days, but his body was strong, his heart pure, his mind active and clear, and his hope of the future strong and well defined. He had courage and faith in himself, and his youth was full of brightness even as it was full of toil. He was put to the plow when only twelve years of age, but such was the bent of his mind and his thirst for knowledge that even at that age he was reading Shakespeare, which he had found in pamphlet form among some books belonging to an uncle. When he was fourteen, a dilapidated copy of Benjamin Franklin's autobiography fell into his hands. It delighted him with a wider view of life, inspired him with a new ambition, and set his thoughts into new channels. He read the book again and again, and a hope

grew strong in his heart that the path upward to usefulness and fame that had felt the feet of one poor and friendless boy might be open to others of his like. The older he grew and the more he read and studied, the less affection did he feel for the life of a farmer. He aspired to an education better than his school opportunities afforded, and in this desire he had his mother's encouragement and helpful suggestion. The father, strong in his belief that the life of a farmer was the best and truest to which a man could aspire, opposed his purpose of entering a profession, but the determination of the son was so strong that even that barrier was finally worn away. In the summer of 1834, after some time spent in preparatory schools, he resolved in his mind the question as to which college he should choose, and after some investigation gave the preference to the Western university, which he entered in the fall of that year. He applied himself with diligence, and made marked progress from the start. But his time in college was not continuous, as his father often required his assistance on the farm, and in the summer months he would frequently walk home from the city, eleven miles distant, between sundown and midnight, to be ready for the work of the harvest field on the following day. During one vacation of three months' duration, he organized a pay school on the south side, Pittsburgh, and it met with such success as to net him nearly one hundred and fifty dollars, which at that time was regarded as full compensation for the service, and to him the sum was

a needed and important amount. Because of frequent interruptions his college life was prolonged somewhat, but he graduated and received his diploma in the fall of 1837.

Mr. Mellon had not as yet come to any definite decision as to the line of his life's labor, but after giving the matter full thought and looking the ground over he decided in favor of the law. He entered the office of Hon. Charles Shaler, ex-judge of the court of common pleas of Allegheny county, and began a diligent course of legal study. But the necessity of self-support still followed him, and in March, 1838, he accepted a position in the prothonotary's office, where he remained as a deputy for fifteen months. The light he there received and the training he was given were of the greatest possible use in his profession, and gave him an insight into the law that nothing else could have afforded. He passed a creditable examination, and was admitted to practice on December 15, 1838.

He had now entered on the serious labor of life, well equipped in education and principles, and armed with a strong and earnest purpose. He opened a law office in Pittsburgh in June, 1839, and almost from the first received a satisfactory share of the legal business then being done. His first office was located on Fifth street, now Fifth avenue, on the corner of Market alley. Judge Mellon has written a description of the situation of the lawyers and law offices of Pittsburgh in those early days, and I take the liberty of quoting it as a bit of interesting local history :



Fifth avenue was not then a business street, and mine was the first law office opened on it. The law offices were chiefly on the west side of the Diamond, behind the court house—some few on Fourth street between Market and Wood. It was before the courts were removed to Grant's hill. That location on which the new court house was afterwards built was yet a part of Lawyer Ross' apple orchard, and rather out of town. The old court house stood where the Diamond Market house, on the west side of Market street, now stands. It was an ancient looking, square brick structure with a cupola and a bell on top, and a low, one story building on each side. That on the north side contained the office of the prothonotary and clerk of the orphans and criminal courts, all in one room, which was convenient enough as those different official functions centered in one individual. The building on the left side contained the register's and recorder's office in one room, and with one individual officiating for both purposes.

The young lawyer made his way rapidly, and the business and profits of the first year exceeded his most sanguine expectations. But his friends were not surprised at his advance, as they knew he possessed all the qualities demanded in his profession. His judgment was mature and sound, he was of an earnest, cautious and painstaking disposition, had a good education and a rather extensive and accurate knowledge of the law, and had become most favorably known to a large number of the leading business men. He already had much experience in the methods and practices of the courts. He espoused his clients' interests as his own, and had great power with juries. He had a wonderful faculty of hastening a suit or other legal proceeding to a conclusion and having it settled and disposed of. These qualities won success, and in a short time Mr. Mellon found himself with all he could do, and with a fair start in a financial way.

On August 22, 1843, Mr. Mellon took an important step in life, but one he never had reason to regret, and that was fruitful of happiness and content. This was his marriage to Miss Sarah J. Negley a daughter of one of the oldest and best families of western Pennsylvania. To their union a number of children have been born, and several of the sons are among the best and most substantial business men of Pittsburgh. Thomas A. and James R., composing the firm of Mellon Brothers, are engaged largely in the real estate and lumber business; Andrew W., in managing the banking business of T. Mellon and Sons; and Richard B. and George N. in the banking business as Mellon Brothers, Bismark, Dakota.

Mr. Mellon's business improved from year to year, as his fame and acquaintance grew, and his hands and brain were always busy. He began to practice in 1839 and continued therein until he went upon the bench in 1859. Much might be written of important cases in which he had a part, were there room for such detail, and without that little can be said in a general way of a lawyer's life and work. "The practice of law" as has been well said "although apparently exciting and varied and fruitful of striking incidents, is yet monotonous to the practitioner." "It is not" continues the same writer "for the want of excitement and variety in each particular case that this arises, but whilst each case has its different prominent features of vital interest, they are so much in the same general line they become blended together, and their distinctive individu-



ality is lost." Between 1850 and 1860 Mr. Mellon's private and professional business had so increased that it became difficult for him to do justice to either, and as his private affairs were of the most importance he decided to ease from his own shoulders some of his professional burdens by the admission of a partner. He admitted to his business William B. Negley, a nephew of his wife, who had been his student. They remained together seven years.

In 1859 a law was passed by the general assembly of Pennsylvania creating the office of assistant law judge of the court of common pleas. He was given equal salary and power with the president judge, and the two were authorized to hold court separately or jointly in all cases except for murder, in which they were required to sit jointly. When the question of election to this position came up, there was a general feeling among the members of the bar that Mr. Mellon should be selected. A committee of three prominent lawyers called upon him and asked permission to make use of his name. He had never had any thought or aspiration toward office-holding in any form, had never given a thought to the seeking of public popularity, and had taken no share in party politics. He was at first inclined to decline the proposition altogether, but on mature reflection he concluded to accept. An election to the bench would give him a reason for closing up his law business and laying down a portion of the business burdens he had so long carried. The contest for the nomination was an exceedingly lively one, as two

other strong candidates appeared in the field. Mr. Mellon did not take part in the fight, but his friends were active, faithful and vigilant, and the result was that he carried the convention. As a nomination on the Republican ticket in those days meant an election, he was victorious at the polls in the October following. He arranged his private affairs so that they would require as little time and attention as possible, and on the first Monday in December, 1859, took his seat upon the bench. His colleague was Hon. William B. McClure, a gentleman of the old school, pure and honorable, and of fine literary and legal attainments. The usual business of the court had accumulated until it had reached a point beyond the labor of one man. The court had jurisdiction not only of ordinary civil suits, but also exclusive control of all criminal cases and all orphan court business, as a separate orphans' court had not yet been established, and the district court, which had been superseded by the court of common pleas number two, had jurisdiction only in civil suits. The two judges sat on the bench together for nearly three years, during which period their relations were of the most harmonious and friendly character. On the death of Judge McClure he was succeeded on the bench by James P. Sterrett, who was associated with Judge Mellon until the close of the latter's term. Before the close of that service a third judge was added, in the person of Edwin H. Stowe, who had been one of Judge Mellon's chief competitors on the occasion of his judicial nomination.

Judge Mellon's course while on the bench was such as might have been expected of one of his character and training. He worked hard, and honestly endeavored to administer justice as it had been revealed to him. The War of the Rebellion broke out during the early years of his judicial service, and while it did not add to his judicial burdens it gave him more labor and anxiety in the care of his investments and private affairs. The course he pursued as judge can perhaps be described in no better way than by an extract or so from a speech he delivered at the Monongahela house, in November, 1878, at a banquet tendered Judge Daniel Agnew on the retirement of the latter from the bench of the Pennsylvania supreme court. The toast to which Judge Mellon was to respond was "The Judiciary of Allegheny County," and in the course of his remarks he fully described, by implication, some of the principles that guided his course while on the bench. Among other things he said :

Perhaps there is no office of greater importance to the well-being of society than that of the county judge. The rights of person and property of every citizen are dependent on its proper administration. Shining qualities are not essential, but no human ability or attainments are beyond its requirements. In the supreme court the judge has time to deliberate, with undivided attention to the law of the case; but the judge of the lower court must shoot on the wing, and is expected to bag two different flocks with the same shot. He must include both the law and the facts, and couple them together in their true relations as they arise in the shifting panorama of the trial. Then in his charge to the jury, without time to reflect or arrange his ideas, he is required to discriminate between conflicting and interfering legal principles, and to point out the resulting line as the true direction and law in the case; and with regard to the evidence he has a still more delicate and re-

sponsible duty to perform. . . All judicial experience proves that justice cannot be judicially administered by tossing the evidence to the jury as a farmer would a bundle of hay to his cattle, to be devoured indiscriminately, weeds and all; and although the law and the evidence may be explained ever so clearly, the judge will find it not unfrequently incumbent on him to grant a new trial to prevent injustice. . . Reasonable success in the discharge of these varied duties requires not only a well digested stock of book learning and a practical experience at the bar, but also a large stock of common sense and an intimate knowledge of the springs of human action. And to all these the judge, in conducting the business of the court, must add the patience of Job, with the caustic of Job's temper left out. . . He is bound to reciprocate that forbearance which counsel have to observe toward him when they see, or think they see, ever so clearly, that his rulings are absurd, or his confused or mistaken instructions to the jury on the facts are damaging their case. Such varied good qualities in a judge can of course be found only in degree; but according to the degree, so will be his qualifications for the office.

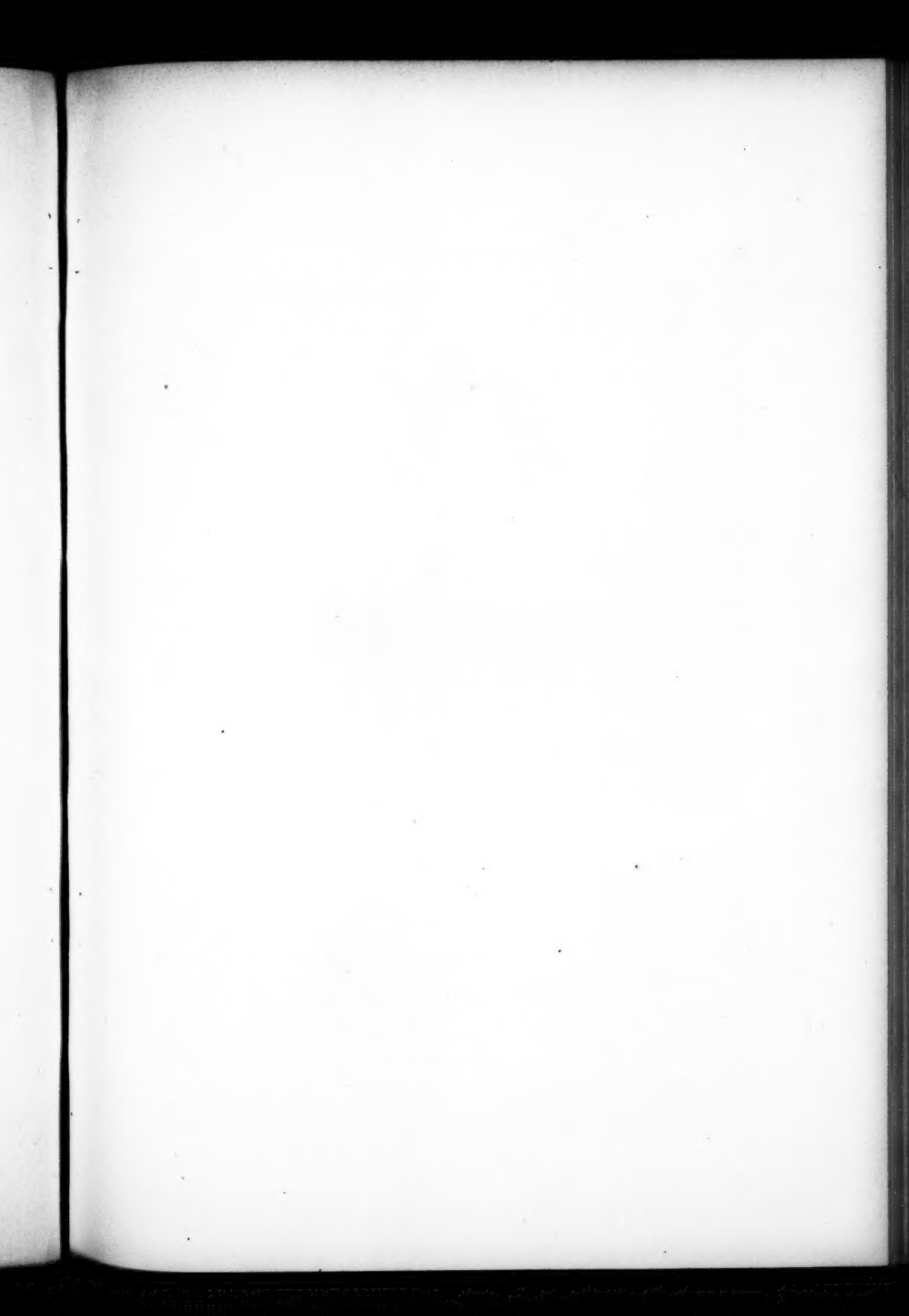
Judge Mellon's private interests had grown to such a point that he decided toward the end of his term of office that under no circumstances would he accept a renomination to the position. His friends urged him, but he was firm, and in December, 1869, he was relieved of the judicial cares that for ten years he had so worthily borne. He had looked forward to the day of freedom with no small desire, and when it came he returned to private life, conscious that he had done the best he could, and strong in the honor and respect of all who had known him. The experiences of his official life had been pleasant, and little had occurred that he had reason to regret. On his retirement, the bar of Pittsburgh tendered him a complimentary banquet, at which he was given renewed evidence of his high

standing in the opinion of his professional associates as a lawyer, as a judge, and as a man.

This outline of Judge Mellon's life, brief and incomplete as it of necessity is, would be altogether so were no reference made to his connection with the business interests of Pittsburgh and western Pennsylvania. Busy as he was in the law, he still found time and energy for other things. The savings of his early years of law were well invested, and as Pittsburgh grew, his possessions increased by natural methods. He erected a number of buildings after the great fire of 1845. The next year he built some eighteen small dwellings, for rent. In 1849 he became interested in the coal business, by becoming the owner of a piece of coal land of about sixty acres, on the Pennsylvania canal, in Tarentum, Allegheny county. He secured a partner named Benjamin Patterson who was to furnish the management while Judge Mellon provided the capital, and they commenced the development of the property, but as the coal could not be produced in paying quantities, they abandoned the attempt and sold the land. In 1859 he became a silent partner in the firm of J. B. Corey & Company, also in the coal business. They produced large quantities, and shipped it down the river. In 1856 he was compelled to take possession of a furnace property of some seventeen hundred acres of a defaulting mortgagor in West Virginia. The furnace was in full blast with a large stock of ore and charcoal on hand, and other inducements to keep it in operation. But

Judge Mellon's keen business judgment led him to run out the stock then on hand and close up, and the result justified his course, as the Lake Superior ores began to come into the market and drive out everything else. About 1865 he purchased the Oscela coal works, and about the same time interested himself in the foundry and machine shop business at Braddock. He was also connected with other enterprises that need not be enumerated here. On his retirement from the bench he decided not to return to the practice of the law, but to give himself to some business pursuit. In view of the conditions of the time, and that he might provide a position and labor for some of his younger sons, he decided to open a banking house. He procured a suitable location on Smithfield street, and on January 1, 1870, the new institution was opened for business. In 1871 he purchased the lot on which his present banking house, that of T. Mellon & Sons, is now located. He also interested himself in various of the leading banks and other financial institutions of Pittsburgh, and invested largely in coal lands on the lines of many of the railroads entering into the city, constructing some of the most extensive coal works now in operation; and through these lines of business activity and many others, Judge Mellon has been, as he yet is, one of the potent commercial and financial forces that are working together to make Pittsburgh the great mart it is to-day.

In 1882 Judge Mellon's son George, who had been in ill health for some





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*J. J. Vandesgrift*

*Eng'd by T. S. Williams & Co. New York.*



time, was ordered to take a sea voyage, and it was decided that he should go to Europe, his father accompanying him. They sailed on August 12; made an extended tour of Ireland, and at last visited Camp Hill, with the cottage in which he was born, lying at the foot. The sight of his old home he had left so many years before, but that had remained faithfully in his memory, recalled to him all that had occurred, and filled his heart with a sweet and tender emotion. He has himself set down, for the eyes of his family alone, his feelings on that occasion, but I hope to violate no confidence by the reproduction here of his recorded thought:

My heart was full. There was no spot on the place, or its surroundings, which I did not remember and know where to find. The croft, the river brae with its bright spring well under the holly bush, the holm with its beautiful whin and broom, where the dog and I had so often hunted water rats, and the river at the foot with the turn hole in it below; all were there in their places as accurately as the Camp Hill cottage itself, with the stables and the small orchard beyond the flush. . . . There was the hearth where I used to stir the fire of nights to afford light to my father to read to my mother from the *American Gazette* the glowing accounts of the richness and abundance of the lands, and the liberty and freedom of the people from taxation and rents in the United States. It was all again before me like a vision of the past.

The above barely outlines Judge Mellon's career. There might be added to it a wealth of filling in, of detail and incident, that would be of the most absorbing interest. Although he is no longer engaged in active labor, he is still ranked among the honored men of Pittsburgh, and is doing quietly each day whatever of good or usefulness may fall to his hands. Old age has touched

him lightly. He has been regular and abstemious in his habits. He has always avoided late hours and excesses of any kind. He has lived a pure and manly life, doing justly by all men, avoiding all forms of speculation, and striving ever to have a beneficial influence on those about him. While too busy in early years to give time or attention to public affairs, he has for some years past served in the city council, where his judgment and experience have been of great service to the public. He has helped many in his time, has been a true friend to those who needed his help and have shown themselves worthy of it, and can look back on a life that is full of good deeds, and holds little that any one could wish to have blotted out.

Judge Mellon has himself put this thought on record: "A long life is like an ear of corn with the grains shriveled at both ends. The few years at the end of an old man's life are of as little account to him or others as the few years of childhood at its beginning." Is this always so? Is it ever so, when the one of whom it might be said is loved and honored by all who know him? whose example stands as a light to the feet of the new generations growing up around him? who like the subject of this sketch, has no fear of the future, and turns his face toward the end, conscious that he has fought a good fight and lived up to the full light of the day about him?

J. J. VANDERGRIFT.

There is probably no man whose name has been so widely known and inseparably connected with the great pe-

roleum and natural gas interests of Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio and West Virginia, in all their branches, as the subject of this sketch.

Captain Vandergrift was not only one of the earliest pioneers of the business, but has continued to the present time as probably the foremost man of what is known as the oil country. He and his partners were among the earliest producers, transporters, refiners and bankers in the oil region, and thus organized the very best financial facilities for the early development of the oil business. He was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on the tenth of April, A. D. 1827. About the time the civil war broke out, he was engaged in producing oil in West Virginia, and after that went to Oil City, Venango county, in connection with the shipping business, being the owner of a steamboat called the *Red Fox*, and boats which carried two or three thousand barrels of crude oil. While in this business, the *Red Fox* was chartered by the United States government, and afterwards, while in service during the war, was lost on the Ohio, near Cairo. After that he engaged in partnership with Mr. Daniel Bushnell of Pittsburgh, in the purchasing, loading and shipping to Pittsburgh of oil in bulk boats and barrels. Together with Mr. W. H. Ewing, of Pittsburgh, during 1863 and 1864, he formed one or two oil companies for producing oil, which were more or less successful.

The first pipe line for transportation of oil was laid in 1865 by Van Sickle, from Pithole to Shafer farm, a distance

of about six miles. In 1869, the Oil City & Pittsburgh railroad was organized by a number of Pittsburgh and Oil City parties. This railroad was not a success, and in 1870 went into the hands of George V. Forman, as receiver. Captain Vandergrift, in partnership with Mr. Forman, equipped and ran a line of tank cars, called the "Star Tank Line," carrying oil from Pithole to Oil City. Captain Vandergrift being a very large shareholder in the road, in order to secure business for it, the firm of Vandergrift & Forman laid a pipe line from West Pithole to Pithole, a distance of about four miles, which they named the "Star Pipe Line," and this may probably be considered the real commencement of the gigantic system which now prevails under the name of the National Transit company.

In 1871, Mr. John Pitcairn, jr., of Philadelphia (at that time general manager of the Oil Creek & Allegheny railroad), joined the firm of Vandergrift & Forman, and they laid another pipe line from Fagundas to the Warren & Franklin railroad, on Allegheny river, at a point named Trunkeyville (after Judge Trunkey, previously an attorney at Mercer, Pennsylvania, and at that time and now on the supreme bench of the state). This line was about four miles in length, and named first "Trunkeyville Pipe Line," and afterwards "Commonwealth Pipe Line." They next laid a pipe line, of about twelve miles in length, from Oil City to East Sandy, which was named the "Sandy Pipe Line," and about the same time they built a line, of about four miles in length, from the

Milton farm, or Bredensburg, to Oil City, which was named the "Milton Pipe Line;" also a line they called the "Western Pipe Line," about three miles in length, from Shaw farm to the new refinery, called the Imperial refinery, above Oil City, and also the "Franklin Pipe Line," for collecting oil from the district around Franklin.

The Imperial refinery, to which allusion has been made, was built by this enterprising man and his partners, of which Mr. John Pitcairn, jr., was president and treasurer; Mr. John R. Campbell was secretary, Mr. John Gracie was general manager, and, besides these gentlemen and Captain Vandergrift, the other partners were George V. Forman and J. J. Lawrence, at that time general manager of the Allegheny Valley railroad. The capacity of the refinery was about one thousand and five hundred barrels per day, a huge enterprise for that time.

About this time was organized the Oil City Trust company, of which George V. Forman was president and H. L. Davis was cashier; the capital was \$120,000.00 and the bank was situated in Love's block, Centre street, Oil City; the directors were John Pitcairn, jr., F. W. Andrews (of Titusville, Pennsylvania), J. J. Lawrence, Charles Thum (of the Economy Refining company, Oil City), G. V. Forman, C. M. Bly, (of Rouseville, Pennsylvania), O. B. Goodwin (of Oil City, Pennsylvania), Isaac Ash (attorney of Oil City, Pennsylvania) and J. J. Vandergrift; the stockholders, in addition to these gentlemen, were H. H. Rand, Daniel R. Merritt, William W.

White, John H. Oberley, A. J. Ormston, John Satterfield, J. D. Baldwin, W. W. Bronson, Charles H. Lay, William McNair, S. A. Hill, W. A. Hosey, Thomas R. Cowell, P. Hogan, J. L. Carnaghan, W. J. Young, Joseph Bushnell, Peter Schreiber, John S. Rich, David Keltie, J. J. Fisher, John Benn, J. P. Kern, A. W. Alsbach, W. A. Purse, P. H. Judd, W. J. Innis, H. H. Fair, George N. Moore, G. W. Thum, L. H. Smith, David Sterrett, A. D. Smith, Thomas Martindale, Joseph Bates, P. Canning, R. H. Lee, John Bushnel, John Horner, C. H. Duncan, N. F. Hilton, M. M. Knox, George W. Milford and H. L. Taylor.

The firm of Vandergrift, Forman & Company then proceeded to organize pipe line systems in Butler and Venango counties, severally named the "Fairview Pipe Line," "Raymilton Pipe Line," "Cleveland Pipe Line," "Millerstown Pipe Line," which were united as one general system, under the name of the "United Pipe Lines of Vandergrift, Forman & Company." This system and sundry other pipe lines were in April, 1887, consolidated and incorporated as the "United Pipe Lines." This company gradually absorbed all the remaining competing lines in the "lower oil regions," and shortly after the first development of oil at Bradford entered this district and became the great system in that locality.

Of the United Pipe lines, Captain Vandergrift has always been president, and to him, therefore, is attributable a very large share of the unbounded and well merited confidence the company has always possessed from not only the

producers and holders of oil, but also the banking institutions of the country. The latter are accustomed to accept its certificates for petroleum for collateral as readily as government bonds. In fact the "United Pipe Lines" have been considered as "above suspicion." In compliance with the demands of some dissatisfied producers, on two occasions "the doors were flung wide open" for investigation; the affairs and every tank of the company were most thoroughly examined by these opponents and their agents, without restriction of any kind, and from the enquiry the reputation of the company came, if possible, even more untarnished than ever.

To illustrate the unsullied integrity of this company in its trust as storers of oil, it is only sufficient to add that at its own original suggestion, in order that the storing of oil should always be set about with the utmost safeguards to the public, and to prevent unscrupulous people engaging in the business, there is an act of assembly in Pennsylvania, that at the instance of any holder of certificates for ten thousand barrels of oil, any pipe line company's affairs can be at any time thoroughly investigated and every tank of oil gauged, to ascertain the exact quantity on hand. At the incorporation of the company, Mr. John R. Campbell of Oil City was treasurer, and in that capacity he has continued to the present time, contributing by his splendid skill as an accountant the most admirable system of records, checks and counter checks the company has now in vogue.

Those who held the respective offices

of secretary and general manager at the inception of the incorporation are now numbered with "the majority." The former was Captain H. M. Hughes of Franklin, Venango county, Pennsylvania, and the latter was Mr. Edward Hopkins of Oil City, Pennsylvania, both of whom were gentlemen much esteemed for their capability in their respective departments. The latter died "in harness;" the former had retired some time previous to death. To Mr. Daniel O'Day, of Buffalo, New York, the vice-president of the company, may be also extended great credit for having foreseen and provided for the great development of oil in McKean county; his wonderful administrative and executive abilities, which are rarely so combined in one person, entitle him to share the honors with the subject of this sketch.

In 1884 the United Pipe lines were merged into and became a division of the enormous system represented by the National Transit company, with its thirty million dollars of capital, for reasons at that time fully and satisfactorily explained to the public.

In 1872, H. L. Taylor, John Satterfield, George V. Forman, John Pitcairn, jr., and Captain Vandergrift established the great oil producing firm of H. L. Taylor & Company, for the development of oil lands in Butler and Armstrong counties, Pennsylvania, and also the "Argyle Savings bank" at Petrolia, in Butler county. As an indication of the confidence this bank enjoyed while in existence and during the palmy days of Butler, it is sufficient to say that



with only a capital of fifty thousand dollars, its deposits amounted to one million five hundred thousand dollars. Captain Vandergrift withdrew from this firm in 1878. The Union Oil company, with its immense business interests, was the outgrowth of the firm of H. L. Taylor & Company.

In 1876 the firm of Vandergrift, Forman & Co. was dissolved, by the withdrawal of Mr. G. V. Forman from the firm, and it was succeeded by the firm of Vandergrift, Pitcairn & Co., composed of Captain Vandergrift, John Pitcairn, jr. (of Philadelphia), to whom reference has already been made, Edward Hopkins, J. R. Campbell and W. J. Young (now president of the Oil City Trust company of Oil City, Pennsylvania). This firm was, at a subsequent date, dissolved by the withdrawal of Mr. John Pitcairn, jr., and succeeded by the firm of Vandergrift, Young & Company, composed of the remaining partners of the old firm.

Captain Vandergrift in the producing of oil, now the third staple of the world, has been particularly prominent. The Forest Oil company, capital one million dollars, of which he has always been president and of which Mr. W. J. Young is vice-president and general manager and J. R. Campbell is secretary and treasurer, and of which the latter two and Mr. Joseph Bushnell of New York compose the executive committee, may perhaps be considered his favorite company. Its name is a synonym for conservative management and success. Captain Vandergrift is also one of the directors and understood to be among

the largest stockholders of the Anchor Oil company, capital one million dollars, and Associated Producers' company, capital one million dollars, as well as being a large individual producer of oil.

In the natural gas development he has been truly a pioneer and most enterprising promoter. In 1875, with John Pitcairn, jr., Captain C. W. Batchelor of Pittsburgh, and others, he laid the first natural gas line of any importance, under the name of the "Natural Gas Company, limited." It was a six-inch line from near Saxonburg, in Butler county, to Spang, Chalfant & Co., and Graff, Bennett & Co.'s iron mills near Pittsburgh, thus demonstrating at this early date the great value of this wonderful product of nature. About the same time, with Mr. John Pitcairn, jr., and A. C. Beeson, he constructed and successfully operated the Butler County Gas Lines. Being so much engrossed with other vast interests in the oil country, then in a formative condition, it is not surprising that, until he removed his residence to Pittsburgh, the success attained in this department of his enterprise was comparatively neglected by him and his partners, but within a very short time after the complete accomplishment of his business projects in the oil country and the removal of his residence to Pittsburgh, we find him, as usual, in the foremost ranks as a projector of the extended introduction of natural gas for industrial and house fuel purposes. He appears as a director of the Penn Fuel company, Fuel Gas Company, Bridgewater Gas company,



Natural Gas company of West Virginia, and the Charters Natural Gas company, the magnitude of whose plants are well known.

While living in Oil City, and until he removed his residence from there to Pittsburgh, in 1881, he was always foremost in public enterprises. He was among the projectors and continues a stockholder of the "Oil City and Petroleum Bridge" and the "Venango Bridge," both of which span the Allegheny river, the former connecting north and south Oil City, and the latter west and south Oil City. He was, at its inception, president of the former, and still holds this office in the latter company.

He, with Mr. O'Day and Mr. M. Geary, also founded the Oil City boiler works, which is probably the largest industrial institution in the oil country, and which has constructed iron tankage to a capacity of twelve million barrels, besides an enormous number of engines and boilers. We do not of course undertake to mention all the enterprises with which his name has been associated in the oil country, as that would be beyond the scope of our limited space. In Pittsburgh, Mr. Joshua Rhodes and he, together with others, established in 1881 the Pennsylvania tube works (capital eight hundred thousand dollars), and his name is also connected with various iron and other enterprises in this his native city.

In banking he has been also prominent, not only as for many years president of the Oil City Trust company and a director of the Argyle Savings bank,

to which reference has been made, but also as one of the organizers and directors of the Seaboard National Bank of New York, and president of the Keystone Bank of Pittsburgh; previous to taking the latter office he was a director in the Allegheny National Bank of Pittsburgh. His name is, of course, intimately associated with the Standard Oil company, of which corporation he is generally understood to have been one of the earliest members.

As may be supposed, he has been associated with the oil exchanges at Oil City, Titusville, New York and Pittsburgh, but his relation with the exchange at the last named city calls for special mention. On coming to Pittsburgh in 1881, he naturally joined the Pittsburgh Oil Exchange, and became very soon impressed with the instability of this organization, which possessed no inherent strength to keep the members together, and this resulted in his coming to the conclusion that a radical change should be made. After various unsuccessful efforts to get the members to do something themselves on the basis of the existing exchange, he finally, in 1883, got a charter from the court for a new exchange, known as the Pittsburgh Petroleum Exchange, and proceeded to erect, individually, on Fourth avenue, opposite the Dollar Savings bank, a magnificent building, worthy of the great petroleum business. During the year the building was in progress of erection, he employed the time in perfecting the new organization for business, in the face of the most violent and unsuccessful opposi-

tion and newspaper vituperation from prominent members of the old exchange, which he allowed to pass in silence, on the principle that a fire very soon dies out if no fuel is added. In April, 1884, the building was completed at a cost, including land, of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and was paid for by and turned over to the exchange. It is noteworthy that this enterprise was carried through by him without pecuniary assistance from any one until its completion, when the exchange paid the money in cash, and all this to place the petroleum business on a firm footing in Pittsburgh. The Pittsburgh Petroleum Exchange will remain an evidence of his far-seeing sagacity.

In appearance Captain Vandergrift is short and stout; in manner he is very reserved, unless interested and in company, when he becomes jovial and the life of the party. In his business relations he is scrupulously exact, upright and honorable; in a transaction he is remarkably shrewd, and his business judgment is exceptionally excellent. In his social relations he is kind, generous and charitable, and very positive in his likes and dislikes.

As may be supposed from the foregoing brief narrative of his career, he is a very energetic and capable man, and his projecting, administrative and executive abilities are very remarkable; in fact, like Midas in times past, he seems to have had the "touch of gold." He is a very modest man and one of those who "do good by stealth and blush to find it fame." As it would

be offensive to him, we would not, if we could, draw the veil aside and expose the innumerable kindnesses and benefactions bestowed by him on friends and strangers, through which in many cases he has exhibited, by his kindly and delicately extended assistance, that highest of all charity, which makes charity unnecessary; but we cannot consent to close this sketch without the tribute which exists in an act, which, despite himself, has become public property. In 1881, a short time after leaving Oil City, Pennsylvania, when the oil country was in that condition of depression which always accompanies low prices for oil, the First Presbyterian church of Oil City, where he and his family for years had worshiped, was in debt and needed considerable outlay for repairs to make the building habitable. He proposed to the congregation that they should pay off their debt and build a new church, agreeing to personally contribute as much as the balance of the congregation, provided the new church should never be opened or used for any of the purposes of its erection until the congregation was entirely out of debt. This most generous proposition was readily accepted, and within a year a beautiful edifice, a credit to any large city, costing thirty thousand dollars, was completed and dedicated, and the congregation was declared entirely out of debt. It is noteworthy that no one, outside of the membership of the church, was solicited for any money, although several contributed voluntarily. His donation to this object was sixteen thousand dollars, besides

the bell, which will always remain a memorial of his benevolence. His request, previous to dedication, was heartily concurred in and acceded to by the congregation—that every seat should continue to be free, and the church be, as for a long time it had been, supported by voluntary contributions, as the members might “be prospered,” since “of all places the church should be the one where anyone’s station should not be gauged by the ability to make money or the reverse, but that the rich and poor should meet together.” It was a grand occasion to the pastor of the church, the Rev. J. N. MacGonigle, to have such an event occur in his ministry, and the subject of our sketch has always been free to say that Mr. MacGonigle’s interest in him and his

family was one of his chief inspirations in prompting him to his action, which he did not, however, himself seem to think amounted to much, for, to quote his own words, he thought “there were others who gave more according to their ability than he did.” In all human characters there are, of course, faults, and these in J. J. Vandergrift we find leaning to “virtue’s side.” Himself rigidly upright and unyielding in principle, never was there a man more tender, generous and charitable to those weak ones who fall by the way.

“Honor to those whose words and deeds  
Thus help us in our daily needs,  
And by their overflow  
Raise us from what is low.”

JAMES HENRY SEYMOUR.

#### FERDINAND SCHUMACHER.

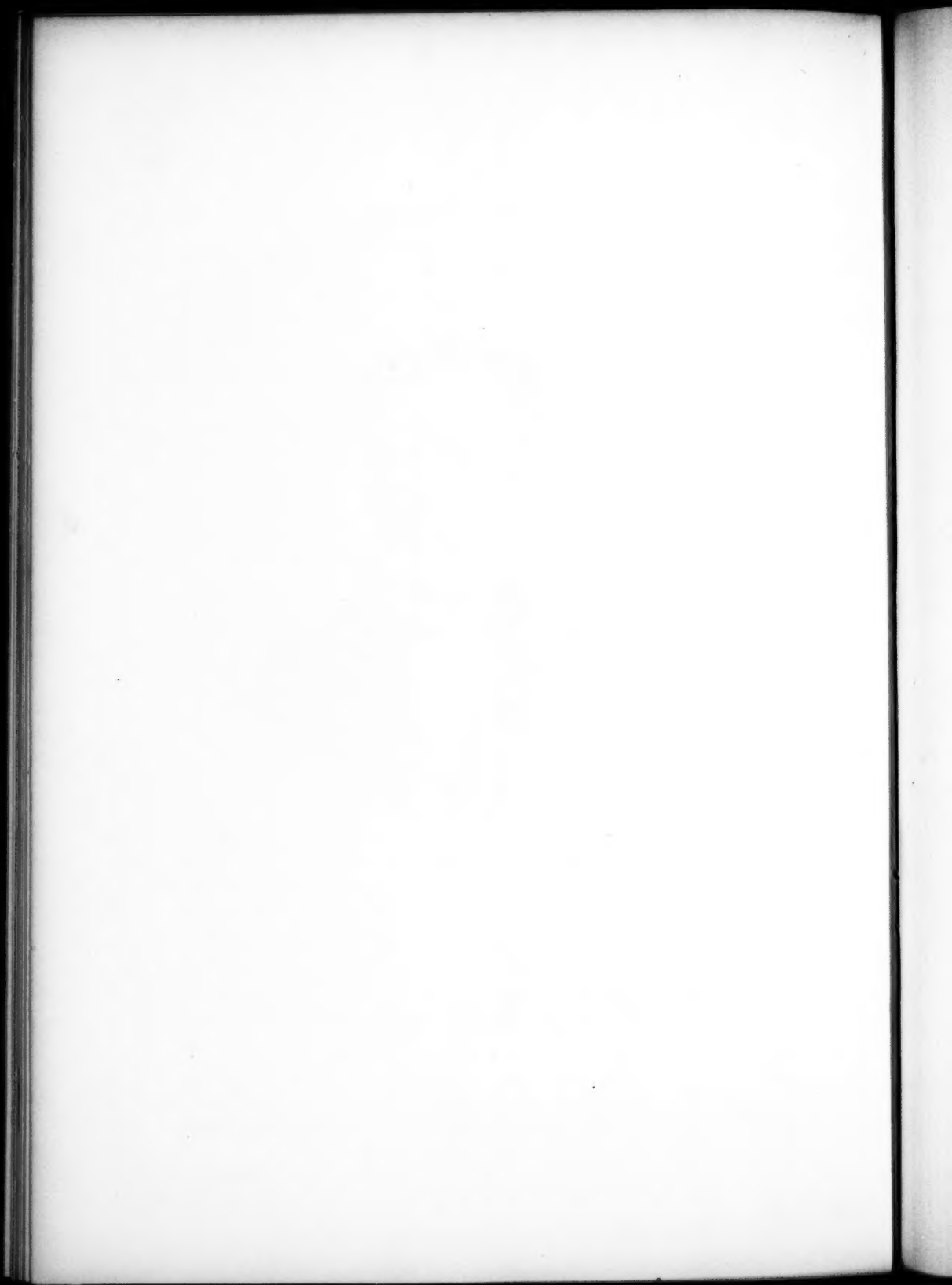
FEW men in America have made themselves felt along any line of chosen business to a greater degree than has Ferdinand Schumacher in the industry he has created in this country, and that he practically controls. He has been one of the forces by which the name of Akron has been heralded to the world as a manufacturing centre, and his connections run into all quarters of the land. German by birth and American by adoption, he is a citizen as patriotic and earnest in all things pertaining to the public good as any one born beneath our flag, and especially in the line of

temperance reform has he been generous, earnest, and ready to make his faith good in his works. His career and the success that have crowned it illustrate what brains and energy may do. He was born in Celle, Germany, on March 30, 1822, his father being a prominent commission merchant of that place. He was given a good educational training in his youth at the high school of his native town, and at the age of fifteen years was apprenticed to H. F. Balk of Harburg, a small town across from Hamburg, to learn the grocery trade. He served there faith-



Western Bldg. Pub. Co.

Ferd. Schumacher.





fully for five years, receiving no pay, but learning all there was to be known within the business range open to him. He returned home in 1842 and was employed for two years as a clerk in his father's house. He then accepted a position as shipping clerk in the large sugar refining house of Egestorf & Hurtzig, Hanover. He remained there until March, 1850, when he decided to try his fortune in the new world. Coming to America with his brother Otto Schumacher, they bought a forty-six-acre farm in Euclid township, Cuyahoga county, Ohio. After two years spent in farming he decided to locate in Akron, and give his attention to the business in which he had served so long an apprenticeship. His capital in cash at that time amounted to one hundred and forty dollars, but he had in addition thereto a fund of pluck, determination and energy that was better than money. His business prospered and grew apace, until in 1857, when he began an experiment which has widened out into the most wonderful results. While learning the grocery business in the old country, he had obtained some original ideas as to the proper method of making palatable preparations for human food out of the grain of the oat, and he undertook to introduce the manufacture of good oat meal into his adopted country, substituting machinery driven by power for hand-mills used then in Germany. As a means for carrying this idea into practice, Mr. Schumacher rented water power near the Ohio canal, in the north-western part of Akron, and put in the machinery needed for the purpose.

Success followed his experiment, and he enlarged his works and added to his business from year to year, until the wonderful proportions of to-day are the result. In the second year he added apparatus for pearling barley, while in the next year he added to the capacity of the mills by increased water power. His works were named the German mills, in honor of Mr. Schumacher's native land. As the growth of this pioneer establishment in this line of manufacture was practically the development of the country itself in that direction, some detail of history and description will be proper here. The trade so increased that by 1863 it was found necessary to erect a mill especially for pearling barley, and the large brick Empire mill was built. In 1867 Mr. Schumacher purchased the Cascade mill, one of the best furnished and largest flouring mills of the day, and made many important improvements therein. In 1872 the old German mills were destroyed by fire, and the building of the present German mills was immediately begun, and completed in the spring of 1873. In 1875 and 1876 the effective power of the Cascade was largely increased, by the building of a mammoth iron wheel thirty-five feet in diameter and the putting in of new machinery for the manufacture of farina and high grades of flour by gradual reduction on French burrs. In 1875 he also made additions to the Empire mills, adding machinery for the still more extensive manufacture of pearl barley. In 1879 a grain elevator with a capacity of one hundred and thirty

thousand bushels was built, between the Empire and German mills. In 1881 he built another, in Greentown, Ohio, with a capacity of thirty thousand bushels, both having been rendered necessary to furnish the proper amount of storage for his mills. In the year last named a one hundred and fifty horse power engine was added to the Cascade. In 1882 the building of another mill, the German mills B, was commenced, and finished toward the close of 1883. This mill proper is eight stories high, with a frontage on Summit street of one hundred and forty-five feet by ninety feet on Mill street, besides a boiler house five stories high, fifty feet by ninety. The combined frontage of the Empire mills, elevator, engine and boiler houses, and German mills A. and B., is four hundred and eighty-four feet. In 1885 his Akron starch works and a dry house were erected, capable of drying eight thousand bushels of oats per day, the former facilities being insufficient to supply the demand for his German mills American oatmeal. The capacity of his mills, running day and night, has been tested and recorded as follows: seven hundred and fifty barrels of oatmeal and avena, one hundred barrels of cracked and rolled wheat, fifty barrels of farina, four hundred and fifty barrels flour, two hundred and fifty barrels cornmeal, two hundred and fifty barrels rye flour and one hundred and fifty barrels pearl barley. This makes two thousand barrels per day, besides some ten carloads of feed. This immense stream of food that is each day poured forth goes to all corners of America, and to England and

Germany as well. The business of the house reaches two million dollars per year, and the investment in the plant at Akron is over half a million dollars. There is nothing in the country in this line of business that begins to touch it in influence, strength or capacity, and Mr. Schumacher is so well recognized as a leader and pioneer of this industry that he has long been spoken of, the country over, as "the oatmeal king." His success, however, has not been through some lucky chance or inherited opportunity. All that he has is the product of his own brains and industry. All that he has done has been done by himself alone. The secret of his success is found away back in his early determination to excel, to do the best that could be done, and to make his way in the market by the excellence of his goods. He never considered his machinery good enough until the highest attainable quality was turned out. He took a new industry and built it up. When he began, all the oatmeal used in this country was imported from Canada or Europe, every attempt at its manufacture in America having failed. His success was great from the start, and the home trade so curtailed the foreign, that at present but small, if any, importations of this staple are made. In all business matters Mr. Schumacher is sagacious, prompt, diligent and thorough. His reputation for honesty has never been assailed. He is opposed to the credit system, and as far as possible excludes it from his business. Small, wiry, full of vigor and vitality, with a keen eye and a well developed business sense, he

is one of the remarkable men of the day. Socially, he is quick-witted, intelligent and genial. His domestic relations are happy, and his home is beautiful and well adorned. In 1851 Mr. Schumacher was married to Miss Hermine Schumacher, a cousin, and to this union two sons have been born, Louis and Adolph, both of whom take an active part and a warm interest in the management and conduct of their father's business.

Mr. Schumacher has been so engrossed in the management of his extensive business affairs that he has had no time for public life, and no desire in that direction. Some years ago he was a member of the council of Akron. But it is in the line of temperance reform that he has done the most of his public work, and that he has sought to be of use to the public. On this question he has deeply studied and felt much, and his whole heart is enlisted in it. He has given freely of his means for the advancement of temperance measures, and any effort to curtail the liquor power has ever found in him a willing and generous friend. He is strong and unwavering in his faith in legal prohibition. He carries his principles into his personal life, and is a total abstainer from all alcoholic beverages and all narcotics. He is a leading member of the Prohibition party of Ohio, and sustains that organization not from any personal ambition, but as a matter of principle. Long observation and a wide experience have led him to the belief that real temperance reform can never come through the two old political parties, and that the only road

thereto is the building up of a party of prohibition, with public sentiment behind it that shall not only make laws but see them executed. In order that all his strength might be given to the cause, and not through the expectation of election, Mr. Schumacher has several times been a standard bearer for his party in state elections. In 1882 he headed the Prohibition ticket for secretary of state, and in 1883 was his party's candidate for governor. In accepting the nomination, Mr. Schumacher stated his position so clearly and fully that I cannot forbear from quoting his letter in full. It was as follows :

AKRON, O., June 16, 1883.

CHAIRMAN OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE :

DEAR SIR : I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor, fifteenth instant, advising me of the unanimous nomination as standard bearer in this fall's contest, to represent the people's cause against a handful of rich and influential men who have a money interest in the beer and liquor traffic, and boldly undertake to dictate terms to our town, state and national legislators. I cheerfully accept this honorable distinction, hoping that the time is near at hand when, in thunder tones, the people shall protest against this oligarchy, prohibiting for tippling purposes all that can intoxicate. Thus they may decide for themselves what the policy of leading parties shall be, rather than leave it to politicians, with whom party success is of greater importance than the true interests of our people.

Very respectfully yours,

FERDINAND SCHUMACHER.

Mr. Schumacher was one of the most willing and devoted friends to the Second, or prohibitory amendment, submitted to the people of Ohio in 1883. He used every proper means in his power to advance that cause. In touching upon his connection with that work, I can do no better than to quote

the following tribute from the pen of Mrs. Mary A. Woodbridge, the president of the organization managing that campaign:

Pressed as was the Ohio Woman's Christian Temperance union for means to prosecute the amendment work of 1883, it would have been impossible to meet the demands had not Ferdinand Schumacher over and over again come to our help. Drafts from his apparently never-failing store often reached us in our hours of greatest need, and ever accompanied by words of cheer that banished our fears and doubts, and led us to persevering labor. His appreciation of conditions and circumstances was often manifest by the reception at our headquarters of large supplies of literature, as 'The People *versus* the Liquor Traffic'—unanswerable arguments from the pen of Hon. B. Finch, a copy of which he gave for every minister of the state; and 'The People's Choice,' by Rev. Dr. Weaver, his own pastor, which he sent by the ten thousand for free distribution. Surely the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Ohio, and others who through it have been recipients of his bounty, will "rise up and call him blessed," and not them alone, for he reaches out to the nation through his gifts to the National Woman's Christian Temperance union, the National Publication society, and the general work north and south.

Yet this man, so noble, so generous, shuns notoriety, continually charging that "nothing shall be said" of his deeds. The cause of temperance has in him a noble champion, not alone manifest by his beneficence, but he stands in the advance line, fearlessly proclaiming the truth as God gives him to see the truth. A royal German, who considers the freedom of the American republic from the liquor traffic of greater importance than any personal interest,

commercial or political. Himself the embodiment of total abstinence and prohibition principles, he advocates the interest of the Prohibition party, that will insure like blessings to every citizen of our state and nation.

Mr. Schumacher gives liberally not only to the temperance cause, but to any and all objects that commend themselves to his judgment. He was a very large contributor to the erection of the Akron Universalist church, of which he is a member. He will have no intemperate man in his employ. Never idle himself, he cannot tolerate idleness in others. When he enters upon any given work he gives it his whole attention and energy. No half-way measures will suit him. He is one of the most intensely earnest and determined men in the country, and "whatsoever his hand findeth to do," that does he with his might. He is a zealous friend to progress in all forms, whether by moral or legal reforms, in the church, the school, and all departments of life where man has an influence upon man. He is a thorough American, and one or two visits he has made to his old German home have convinced him more and more that the blessings of a free country far surpass those of any other form of government in the world.



## THE CITY OF THE STRAITS.

## VI.

A LONG period of peace and inactivity followed the stirring events of the war of 1812, briefly outlined in preceding chapters. In the economy of society as it then existed, years were necessary to a safe recovery from the paralytic conditions induced by the shocks of war. Commercial, industrial and social interests were in a chaotic state when peace with Great Britain and the Indian tribes was concluded, the United States troops withdrawn and the community left to its own resources. It had lived on stimulants for many years, and when these were no longer supplied collapse was threatened. But it passed the crisis in safety—the bloody hurts of sanguinary struggles slowly but surely healed, rights of property were gradually adjusted, and the badly mixed state of things assumed a more tolerable form. The French largely predominated in the population, and to them American domination was only a little more agreeable than that of the British. But their natural feelings of dislike to their present masters softened materially during the twelve or fifteen years that followed Harrison's reconquest of the territory and brought civilization down to the threshold of the golden era of progress. The small but steady stream of immigration from the east, which commenced

before Hull's disgraceful surrender and continued thereafter, began to show its effect on the character of the town. New England thrift and enterprise resolutely attacked the methods and prejudices of the old regime, and reformed—Americanized—them. The American idea in business and politics crowded to the front and compelled respect if not esteem. The extinction of French ideas and influence was thereafter a mere matter of time.

The Erie canal was opened in 1825. The population of Detroit was then about 2,000, and of the territory about 11,000, the census of 1820 placing the number at 8,896. There are hundreds of thousands of hale and hearty men and women now living in this country who were taking an active part in the world's affairs when Detroit was a struggling village of two thousand souls—counting negro and Indian residents as souls, which was contrary to the custom in those days. The truth of this is practically inconceivable to those who have looked upon the magnificent City of the Straits for the first time during the past five years. To compare its condition at that period with any town of two thousand population in the state at this time would be absurd, for it had few of the conveniences which



they enjoy. There was not a stone or brick building in the town; not a paved or macadamized street; not a three-story building; not a fire engine or any public water service; no daily mail or daily newspapers; no theaters or concert halls; no free schools or libraries—few, in fact, of the thousand and one things now considered essential to the contentment of every town of that size in the commonwealth. A sluggish life they must have led, indeed, in those days. It was not life as we understand it now. It was merely existence. That there was latent enterprise and ambition in the population cannot be doubted but up to the time of which we write there was no opportunity for their action, or outlet for their energy if set in motion. All things, 'tis said, come to those who can afford to wait, and as the town at that period could not afford to do anything else, it was perhaps natural that her accretions in time should excite amazement. Before following her history into the new era that sent the life blood coursing tumultuously through her veins, and made her streets the pathway for multitudes who came trooping from the eastern states and Europe to populate the northwest, it may not be unprofitable to emphasize the remarkable contrast between life in Detroit in 1825 and as it is to-day, by presenting in apposite relation some extracts from the daily papers of the present month and a few assumed prophetic items gathered from the columns of a Chicago journal facetiously bearing date of September, 1985

—a century hence. From the latter the following paragraphs are taken:

WASHINGTON, September 25.—Great excitement was caused here this evening by the receipt of a dispatch from Lieutenant Glass, of the exploring air ship Pole, announcing the discovery of the north pole on the fifteenth of this month.

CHICAGO, September 25.—The great international aerial yacht race came off yesterday in the presence of an immense concourse of spectators. Aerial omnibuses, cabs, and even old-fashioned balloons were brought into use. So great was the crowd in the vicinity of the starting point that the sun was almost completely obscured over that portion of the city.

TOLEDO, September 25.—The beer pipe line between Milwaukee and New York burst fifteen miles from this city under the waters of Lake Erie, this afternoon.

CHICAGO, September 25.—Five thousand exhaust pumps were purchased for the use of the fire departments yesterday. The design of the pumps is to exhaust the oxygen from burning buildings.

Charles McDonald & Co's periodical agency have made arrangements for delivering English and French publications on the day of issue.

LONDON, September 25.—At last the English channel tunnel has been completed, and trains now run through to Paris.

SPRINGFIELD, September 25.—The opposition party have made a great mistake by nominating Miss Hattie Smith for governor.

CHICAGO, September 25.—Electric light balloon No. 11, stationed three thousand feet in the air above the corner of One Hundred and Ninetieth and State streets, was damaged by the wind storm last night. The great reflector, one hundred and twenty feet in diameter, was not injured, but on account of the withdrawal of fifty thousand horse power electric light, that part of the city was at 10:30 P. M. plunged into darkness.

These fanciful items all have reference to inventions or reforms that are known to everybody. They are mere exaggerations of things that are witnessed or written about every day. There is not an original conception among them—nothing that the dullest imagination cannot comprehend as among the possibili-

ties of the future. The terms employed are all in common use at this time. Marvelous as the realization of these paragraphs would be, their scope and meaning can be as well understood to-day as one hundred years hence. From the contemplation of the above paragraph, let the mind of the reader turn to the following, picked up at random from the papers of the current month, published in Cleveland, Detroit and Cincinnati, the greater part of them being condensed in order to economize time and space. The absolute accuracy of the news thus conveyed is not vouched for, but that is not essential. They are just such items as are published every day, and so common-place are they that in themselves they are not likely to excite interest or cause remark:

The consumption of kerosene oil is expected to be larger this year than ever before, in spite of the introduction of natural gas into a number of large cities.

Clusters of incandescent electric lights are supplanting to some extent the Brush electric light for street illumination.

The natural gas wells at Findlay produce enough gas to supply heat and light for a city of fifty thousand people.

The Detroit water works now supply families at \$5 a year each, without regard to the number in a family. All the water now used is pumped from Lake St. Clair.

Three-fourths of the inhabitants of Pittsburgh use either produced or natural gas for illuminating purposes.

The run from Liverpool to San Francisco can now be made by steamer and rail in twelve days.

The speed of the limited express trains on the Lake Shore road would carry passengers from Cleveland to Buffalo, one hundred and eighty-three miles, in three hours and thirty minutes, were it not for necessary stoppages.

The new steamers for the Toledo and Buffalo route are expected to attain a speed of twenty miles an hour.

The surface roads in New York are doing fully as

much business as before the erection of the elevated roads, which carry millions of passengers monthly.

News of the London riot was delivered in American cities by ocean cable and land telegraph lines several hours before they took place, owing to the difference in time.

Patrons of the New York telephone exchange can now converse with over six thousand subscribers in the city, besides many other thousands in the towns and cities within fifty miles.

Stenographic reporters able to write from one hundred and fifty to two hundred words a minute are in demand, especially if they can transcribe with a type-writer.

The alarm from box twenty-one, opera house, brought ten steam fire engines within as many minutes.

The cold wave flag is flying from the signal service station. The storm centre is over Milwaukee and a fall of thirty degrees is predicted within twelve hours.

It is estimated that there are four million sewing machines in use in the United States.

The McCormick factory in Chicago will turn out more grain reapers this year than ever before.

A few new two thousand barrels a day oil wells will soon be necessary to give the petroleum pipe lines between the New York field and the seaboard full occupation.

Cocaine is superseding chloroform and other anaesthetics for minor dental and surgical operations.

The New Jersey patients vaccinated for hydrophobia by Pasteur, in Paris, are all doing well.

All of the hydraulic elevators in the public buildings stopped running during the water famine.

The improved web printing presses deliver thirty thousand copies an hour, printed on both sides and folded.

The police of Cleveland are now all armed with seven-shooters.

There is hardly a scholar in the public schools of the country of the age of twelve years who cannot easily comprehend all that is related in the above paragraphs. But supposing some enterprising newspaper had published these same items in Detroit, or any other city, in 1825, as prophetic of the progress that would be made in the next sixty years, what sage of the town—

what wise man in the country anywhere—could have formed the remotest idea of what they implied or to what they referred. To the people of that day these items would have been an unintelligible, incomprehensible jumble of strange words, only one or two of which they had ever seen or heard, and even of the things to which these one or two referred they could have but faint conception. They could have no more idea of what was meant by them than if they had been printed in Cherokee or told in Choctaw. The application of steam to mechanical uses was known in Detroit at that time, for a few of her citizens had seen a vessel moved thereby; but, so far as their imaginations were concerned, the locomotive and the steamboat, as we have seen them, were as yet unborn. Such words as "kerosene," "electric light," "natural gas," "produced gas" for illuminating purposes, "street cars," "elevated street railways," "ocean cables," "telegraphs," "telephones," "stenographic writing," "steam fire engines," "signal service," "petroleum," "pipe lines," "sewing machines," "reapers and mowers," "anaesthetics," "hydraulic" or steam "elevators," "steam printing presses," "revolving fire arms," and a large number of other descriptive terms now in every-day use, would have been as Greek to them—in most cases absolutely meaningless. Traveling at the rate of sixty miles an hour, and talking with people one hundred miles away, would have been looked upon as even more impossible than any of the fanciful items that appeared in the columns of

the Chicago paper dated one hundred years hence. It is only by such contrasts as this that we get a full idea of the difference between town life in 1825 and 1886. We have all these conveniences and forces at our command—they had none of them. We are carried along on the tide of nineteenth century progress—they were waiting in unconsciousness of the tremendous force it was soon to exert in the development of their own territory, and upon the world at large. It is almost as hard for us to imagine civilization without any of these now familiar agencies as it would have been for them to imagine civilization as it is.

The opening of the Erie canal, and the beginning of the steamboat era in 1826, imparted a wonderful stimulus to the growth of the territory and its capital. The *Walk-in-the-Water* made a few trips in 1818-20, it is true, and she was propelled by steam, but to call such a craft a steamboat in these days would put the meaning of the word to a severe strain. But steamboating became a regular and profitable business in 1826, several large steamers plying between Buffalo and Detroit, and landing hundreds of settlers from the eastern states every week. The great advantages of the territory for agricultural purposes over the eastern states were now quite generally understood, and the water-way being opened from the Hudson to the straits the tide of emigration that has never ceased to flow, at once set in. Measured by our standards, the growth during the period that followed—from 1826 to the completion of railroads into

the central parts of the state—was not large, but measured by the standards then prevailing it was enormous. The census of 1837 showed a population in the state of 175,000, and 23,400 in Wayne county, of whom about 9,000 lived in Detroit. This showed an increase in twelve years of 450 per cent. in the population of the city—a term now become suitable to its importance—and over 1,500 per cent. in the population of the state—which in that year the territory became. Railroad building had already made some progress when Michigan became a state, and the steady progress westward of the locomotive, which reached Chicago, by Michigan lines, in 1852 gave a renewed impulse to emigration and settlement within the borders of the state.

With the double-belting of the state in iron bands, these sketches may well draw to a close. The French trading post has now become a city; the strik-

ing natural difficulties which beset the earlier settlers have all been changed for the better; the aborigine has buried the hatchet and retreated before the star of empire; the husbandman no longer carries his rifle afield; the stockades long ago furnished fuel for the garrison that have no fears of redskins or red-coats; the locomotive is soon to arrive from the east; the strong contrasts of life must now be made with the past if they would attract attention; and the purpose in view, as indicated in the opening chapter, has been fulfilled, imperfectly, it is true, but in strict accord with the intention—which was not to imitate or emulate the brightness or the warmth of the shining lights of western history, but rather with the aid of a reflective glass to throw a side-light here and there, whose illuminating power is largely due to their patient efforts, already acknowledged in these pages.

HENRY A. GRIFFIN.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON TIFFT.

THERE are few if any names more prominently identified with the annals of Buffalo during the last forty years than that of George Washington Tift. From 1842, when he became a resident of the city, until 1882, the year of his decease, he was an active, energetic, successful business man, largely engaged in a variety of industrial pursuits, and wielding an influence second to none of his contemporaries. This position was secured and maintained not alone by his unquestioned ability, but chiefly by unswerving integrity, indomitable perseverance and rigid fidelity to principle in the accomplishment of his purposes.

Some men are so constituted that they are not content with the transaction of business on a small scale. They have an instinct to enlarge and extend their operations beyond the circumscribed tread-mill of retail methods, and are constantly seeking to utilize a combination of forces which may produce greater results than individual efforts are capable of accomplishing. It is to such men that the country is indebted for the organization of enterprises and the development of plans that result in the grand achievements that characterize this age of remarkable progress. It is not a quality that is acquired, it is inborn, and its possessor is incapable

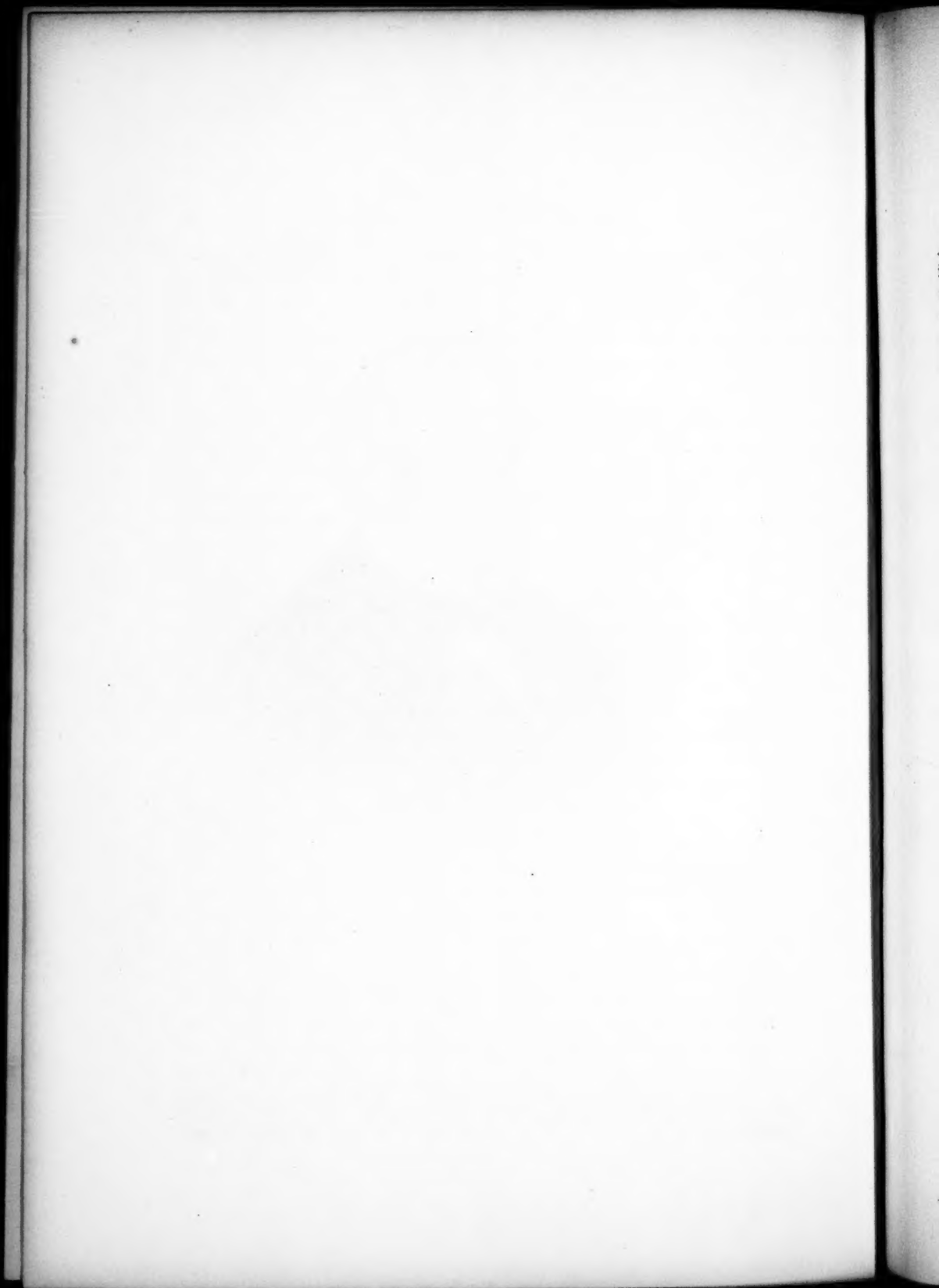
of restraining its forces, and naturally has enlarged ideas of things, and readily grasps and easily solves complicated business problems. Such men originate projects and devise methods where others are content to plod along in the aimless footsteps of their ancestors. No country has produced more men of this character than America, and no other country presents such opportunities for their development. Its institutions, resources, capabilities, business methods combine to offer unparalleled advantages for the development of genius and talent in those who possess these qualities. Doubtless much must be allowed for circumstances and conditions. Success is not always a true test of merit, although it is perhaps too often conceded to be. But when an individual overcomes adverse conditions and succeeds in spite of them, he evinces real genius and true greatness.

The biographical sketch of such a man is a matter of public interest, especially to a community in which the life has been spent. Mr. Tift was preëminently a man of this type. He was born on the thirty-first of January, 1805, and was the youngest of a family of twelve children—eight sons and four daughters, all of whom lived to the age of manhood—that were born to John Tift and





*Yours Truly*  
*Geo. W. Tiff*



Annie Vallett. His parents were born in Rhode Island, where they were married and lived until eight of their children were born, when they removed to Nassau, Rensselaer county, New York, the place of the birth of the subject of this sketch.

Mr. Tift's ancestors upon the paternal side were from Alsace, and upon the maternal side they were, as the name indicates, also of French origin. His father was a man of sterling qualities, great decision of character, strong in his convictions and positive in their avowal. He was raised upon a farm, and continued the occupation of a farmer through life, and therefore did not have the opportunities that are afforded by the broader field of commercial, manufacturing and mercantile pursuits. While he was not rich, he was always what is called in the country a "well to do farmer." Notwithstanding he had a large family to support, his foresight and prudent management always enabled him to continually lay up a little for the needs of the future. He was prompt to all engagements and required the same fidelity from others. It used to be said that he was the only person in the town where he lived who never had to be called upon the second time for the payment of his taxes. He always kept a little surplus on hand in the old money chest, an article of household furniture that was common in those days, in the absence of convenient banks, for any emergency, and was never out of funds, as is too often the case with careless and thriftless farmers.

John Tift died in 1813, at the age of fifty-six, when the subject of this sketch was eight years old. George remained upon the farm with his mother and other members of the family until he was sixteen years old, receiving about two months' instruction in each year in the country district schools. About this time the farm was sold to his older brothers, by whom he was engaged to work thereon until he should be of age, at a compensation of four dollars per annum for his current expenses, with three months' schooling in each year, and upon becoming of age he was to have a yoke of oxen and a horse. Not a very bright prospect for the future, most young men will say, but young Tift accepted the situation, unpromising as it was. As might have been expected, this arrangement only continued for a short time. It was too much of a one-sided affair. George felt that he could and ought to do better, and so the contract was cancelled at the end of the first year, and he went to work for another brother on a farm at ten dollars per month. Even this compensation did not long suit the young laborer. His ambitious spirit chafed under the restraint of being an employè. He longed to be his own master and to do business for himself. It was not long before an opportunity presented itself, and in connection with another brother a contract was taken to clear some land of its timber, and the boys divided the profits from the sale of the wood taken therefrom, and they did well at the job, making the first money which Mr. Tift ever accumu-

lated. He then went to New Lebanon, in Columbia county, and attended school for four months, which concluded his educational pursuits.

Mr. Tift was now eighteen years old, and although still a minor, he was under no paternal restraint, and was practically his own master. The first enterprise in which he engaged after returning from school to his old home in Nassau was the purchase of five acres of timber land, which he cleared, selling the wood at remunerative prices and realizing handsome returns. Some of the chopping was done by himself, but he soon found that a profit could be made upon the labor of others—a discovery that he did not fail to utilize in later years—and so he hired choppers, while he superintended the business, attending to the piling, measuring and selling of the wood. The success of this venture led to other purchases and he carried on this line of business until he was twenty-one years of age, when he found he had accumulated and saved \$1,200. This was somewhat better than to have wrought for his brother until his majority at four dollars per annum with a donation of a yoke of oxen and a horse. He now received \$1,000 from his father's estate, making his aggregate capital \$2,200.

Believing that better opportunities for a young man were offered elsewhere than in eastern New York, in 1826 Mr. Tift made a journey of observation to Orleans county, New York, and bought an unimproved farm in the town of Murray. After concluding the purchase he returned to his native place and resumed

the wood-cutting business, which he appears to have had a fancy for. He also bought and sold several parcels of land and made other speculations in which he was successful. He remained in and about Nassau until he was twenty-five years of age, and then removed to his farm in Orleans county, which he carried on for two years and then began to operate in the purchase and sale of grain, and also in the milling business, depending upon hired help for farm work. His ventures were generally successful, for they were made with that rare good judgment which is characteristic of his after life. When he had apparently outgrown the country village in Orleans county, Mr. Tift cast about for a larger field in which to operate. He did not believe he had gone far enough west, and so in 1841 he established himself at Michigan city, at the foot of Lake Michigan, in Indiana, and went to buying grain and shipping it east. There were no railroads in that region then, and very few anywhere for that matter, and all shipments were made by the lakes. He carried on an extensive business for those times, and it was very remunerative. He not only made a profit on his purchases but having eastern money which was worth a premium in the west, he was enabled to realize a double gain on all his operations. While at Michigan City he formed business acquaintances with Buffalo shippers that led to his subsequent settlement in the Queen City.

After about a year spent at Michigan City, Mr. Tift disposed of his business at that point with a view of going still

farther west. A prospecting tour of the northwest was made in which Chicago, then but a village, was visited, and the journey continued into the wilds of Wisconsin. Settlers had begun to enter lands along the lake shore, and Mr. Tift who always had a great fancy for real estate, was moved to obtain a foothold in that new country. With this object in view he examined the land in the vicinity of Southport, now called Kenosha, and concluded to make a purchase. He went to the land office at Milwaukee and called for a map of the district. The agent patronizingly inquired whether he wanted a forty or an eighty acre farm. After examining the plat Mr. Tift deliberately indicated by checking with his pencil the several parcels that he would like, which aggregated nearly eleven hundred acres. The agent stood aghast, and was at a loss to know what sort of a customer he had encountered. It was a rare thing to sell more than eighty acres to one man, and forty was oftener taken than more. Mr. Tift paid the government price, one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, using in payment the profit he had made in exchange between eastern and western money, which he had carefully kept separate from other funds. The land was situated about four miles west of Kenosha, in a fine agricultural region. He made a contract with a gentleman to cultivate it and plant a crop of winter wheat. He was laughed at for his attempt to grow winter wheat in that region, but this did not dissuade him from his purpose. Only a portion of the tract was broken, according to

the contract, but upon this a fine crop of grain was raised. A heavy body of snow having fallen and remained on the ground all winter protected the crop from the injuries it usually receives in that latitude. An average of twenty bushels an acre was harvested, which enabled Mr. Tift to sell the tract the next season for a profit of six thousand dollars.

In 1842, Mr. Tift removed to Buffalo and formed a co-partnership with the late Dean Richmond, and carried on the milling business. Here his good fortune, or superior judgment was manifested again, for no better business man could be found in western New York than his distinguished partner. In 1843 he entered into an arrangement with Gordon Grant of Troy, the owner of a transportation line known as the Troy & Michigan Six-Day line, that is, they did not run Sundays, and opened a branch of the Troy house in Buffalo, under the name of George W. Tift & Co. Like everything he had embarked in thus far, this business flourished and added to his accumulating fortune. In 1844, Mr. Grant having sold his line of boats, Mr. Tift formed a partnership with the late Henry H. Sizer, under the firm name of Sizer & Tift, to carry on the produce and commission business. After one year with Mr. Sizer, he sold his interest in the concern to his partner and again went into business with Dean Richmond, purchasing the Erie mills, which they operated in connection with three other mills at Black Rock. For the ensuing nine years Mr. Tift gave his attention almost exclusively to



milling operations, doing a very large and successful business, and securing a position among the leading monied men of the city.

In 1844, the International Bank of Buffalo was established largely by the influence and support of Mr. Tift, and he was selected as the first president, which position he filled until 1857, the year of the great financial crash which carried down so many banks and commercial houses. There were few business men who were not affected by the panic of that eventful year, and failure was the rule rather than the exception. Mr. Tift was a heavy endorser for the Buffalo Steam Engine company, for which he had to pay nearly one hundred thousand dollars, and therefore he was compelled like many others to suspend. The creditors of the concern for which he was an endorser gave him an extension of four years, and he took charge of its affairs, and under his management and superior financiering skill the whole indebtedness was paid off in two years, or one-half of the time allowed. About the time of the crash of 1857, Mr. Tift had made heavy advances upon coal lands in Mercer county, Pennsylvania, and this property also came into his hands as had that of the Steam Engine company. In utilizing these coal lands he built two blast furnaces, in addition to one already on the property, and conceived the idea of smelting Lake Superior ore with mineral coal. His experiments in this matter were a success, and to him belongs the credit of having demonstrated the practicability of using mineral coal in treating this

ore. In neglecting to cover his discovery by letters patent, he lost an opportunity to add immensely to his gains. He purchased a fleet of vessels and transported the ore from Lake Superior to Erie, which was taken thence to his furnaces in Mercer county, Pennsylvania.

In 1858 Mr. Tift was chosen president of the Buffalo, New York & Erie railroad, which is an extension of the Erie road from Corning to Buffalo by the way of Bath, Avon, Batavia and Attica. The organization is still in existence, and the New York, Lake Erie & Western railroad is the lessee of the line. About this time he turned his attention to the improvement of the real estate of which he had become possessed, and was one of the most extensive builders in Buffalo. In one year, 1863, he erected seventy-four dwelling houses, besides the Tift house, for several years the principal hotel of the city, and an elevator, which was subsequently disposed of to the Erie Railroad company. He afterwards built the magnificent brick fire-proof Tift elevator at a cost of \$700,000 that was sold to the Central Railroad company in 1879 for \$355,000, showing a wonderful depreciation in elevator property. Mr. Tift was the owner of six hundred acres of land in the southern portion of Buffalo, bordering on Lake Erie, long known as the "Tift farm." Its value greatly enhanced upon his hands, and was eventually sold to Pennsylvania capitalists, by whom it was subsequently leased to the Lehigh Valley Railroad company for a term of fifty years for an annual rental of \$20,000

upon condition that \$1,000,000 should be expended in improvements, and it is used in providing terminal facilities for handling coal and other heavy freight at that point. He became the owner of a farm of five thousand acres in Shelby county, Iowa, which was well stocked and highly cultivated and from which an annual harvest of fifty thousand bushel of grain was gathered. His investments and operations were not only numerous and diversified, but always upon a large scale and generally with successful results. Any venture in which Mr. Tift engaged was an incentive for others to embark in the enterprise. His excellent judgment, business tact and unyielding integrity were assurances of ultimate success.

The latter years of Mr. Tift's life were devoted chiefly to the management of the Buffalo Engine works, a private stock company, the shares of which were held by members of his family and the business done under the name of George W. Tift Sons & Co. It was and is one of the most extensive concerns in its line in the country, giving employment to four hundred operatives and support to more than a thousand persons.

Mr. Tift was largely interested in the manufacture of furniture in connection with the firm of Albert Best & Co., which was one of his unfortunate ventures, and which resulted in a loss of \$150,000. Amid all the changes, the ups and downs of life, Mr. Tift always maintained an unimpaired credit. His obligations were held sacred, whether as principal or endorser, and he never

failed to pay one hundred cents on the dollar for every obligation assumed and required to meet. He was a bold, courageous operator, ready to assume risks, yet exercised good judgment as to the chances of success. He was emphatically a broad-gauge man, with remarkably comprehensive ideas especially in business affairs. No difficulties seemed unsurmountable, and opposition only inspired greater efforts and a stronger determination to win. Such a man will succeed under less favorable circumstances than attended the career of Mr. Tift. He was therefore entitled to a place in the front rank of the many prominent and successful business men of his time.

Mr. Tift always manifested a deep interest in public affairs, although never seeking or consenting to accept office. He was constable and collector in his native town of Nassau when twenty-two years old, and this is the only office he ever held. His taste was for business rather than for office, and in this he found more pleasure as well as greater profit. It were better for the country if he had more emulators of his worthy example. He was an active supporter of the Republican party, a great admirer of President Lincoln, and gave largely from his princely fortune for the support of the war, in furnishing substitutes for the army, and providing for the sustenance of soldiers' families during their absence. He was a generous and cheerful giver to charitable and benevolent objects, but not ostentatious in his gifts, and the hundreds who have been the recipients of his favors, privately be-

stowed, have learned to know and appreciate the nobleness of their benefactor. One of his principal charities was the endowment of the Ingleside Home, with a free gift of property valued at fifty thousand dollars. No worthy object appealed to his purse in vain. As he had been blest with prosperity he was willing to use the large means entrusted to him in doing good to others. He was identified with the Presbyterian church for fifty years, and was always a strictly temperance man, never using spirituous liquors except medicinally. He had a large, portly physique, tall and erect, weighing two hundred and thirty pounds, with a strong, robust constitution that carried him nearly to the limit of four score years. He passed away in June, 1882, after completing his seventy-seventh year.

The limits of this brief notice only permit a bare mention of the more salient points in the eventful career of the distinguished subject. From the time

of his early start in life—before his majority to the time of his death—covering a period of sixty years of an active, busy life, Mr. Tift was conspicuous in all the relations of life. When he was young his comrades and neighbors believed him capable of almost any undertaking, for he always made it a point to succeed. In later years his name was a tower of strength, and was sought in every movement requiring moral, social or financial support. He filled a large place in the affairs of the city he has done so much to build up. His name will long be enshrined in the hearts of a people that had learned to know his worth and appreciate his virtues.

On the fourteenth of March, 1827, Mr. Tift was married to Lucy Enos, daughter of Joseph and Thankful Enos, who died in 1871. Seven children were born to them, only two of whom—Mrs. Dr. C. C. F. Gay and Mrs. George D. Plimpton, survive.

FRANCIS F. FARGO.

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#### ALFRED KELLEY.

THE year 1810 was an important era in the legal history of Cleveland. Cuyahoga county had just been set apart, with Cleveland as its county-seat, and on June 5, the first court of the new jurisdiction was held. Benjamin Ruggles was presiding judge, with Nathan Perry sr., Augustus Gilbert and Timothy Doan as associates. John Walworth held the office of clerk, and Smith S.

Baldwin was sheriff. The pioneer log court house of two years later had not yet been built, and justice was dispensed in a frame building that had been erected by Elias and Harvey Murry, on the south side of Superior street. The first business done in this court was the finding of a bill by the grand jury for petit larceny, supplemented by several for the selling of liquor to the In-

dians, and the disposing of foreign goods without a license.

In the November term of that court, Peter Hitchcock moved the admission to practice before it of Alfred Kelley, a young lawyer who had arrived in Cleveland the spring previous, and whose law sign was the first one hung in Cuyahoga county after the creation of that legal jurisdiction. That occasion was of triple interest to the young man, as it was the twenty-first anniversary of his birth, saw him a member of a bar to which he should afterward lend such honor and luster, and also gave to him his first office, as he was immediately made public prosecutor, succeeding so eminent a jurist as Peter Hitchcock, who had been chief justice of the supreme court of Ohio.

We of these later generations accept the good bequeathed us by those who have gone before, without seeking to learn much of those who made life, travel and labor so easy, and with little regard to the courage and faith that were so generously given in our behalf. It requires only a glance into the past to learn what this young attorney was able to perform. In the fifty-three years he gave to the upbuilding of this community. He labored faithfully and nobly through many years for the good of Ohio and the bettering of mankind, and has left behind him monuments of the most enduring character. They are found in the canal and railroad systems of our state, in the adaptation of law to the needs of the growing and developing west, and in the various reforms in which he had a leading part.

Alfred Kelley was born in Middletown, Connecticut, on November 7, 1789. Nine years later his father, Daniel Kelley, removed to Lowville, New York, where he became president judge of the common pleas court of Lewis county. He was also one of the founders of Lowville academy, and was a useful citizen in many public ways. The son Alfred was educated in Fairfield academy, New York, and afterward read law in Whitesboro. In the spring of 1810, when several months short of his majority, he decided to try life and fortune for himself, and set off for the far west of Ohio. The journey was made on horseback, and he and Dr. Jared P. Kirtland accompanied the well known pioneer, Joshua Stow. On reaching here he opened a law office, and was welcomed and speedily set to work, as has been mentioned above. It was indeed a busy and useful life that opened before him. He held the office of prosecutor until 1821, when he voluntarily gave it up. While serving thus he prosecuted Omic, who in 1812 was found guilty of murder, and was hanged. Mr. Kelley was the first president of the incorporated village of Cleveland, to which office he was elected in 1815, but resigned on the following year when his father, Daniel Kelley, who had removed to Cleveland, was chosen to fill his place. Meanwhile he had been given public labor in a more prominent and responsible direction. In 1814 he was elected a representative from Cuyahoga county to the general assembly of Ohio; being the youngest member of that body and barely old enough to meet the demands



of the constitution on that point. The state capital was then located at Chillicothe. He continued a member of that body most of the time until 1822, when he became one of the Ohio canal commissioners, and entered upon one of the greatest labors of his life.

From the day that he entered the house of representatives, Mr. Kelley held a leading place in all its counsels, and took a prominent part in its transaction of business. Remarkably mature for one of his years, with a breadth of thought and a far-seeing vision given to but few, he was entrusted with the care of many measures requiring laborious thought and investigation, that men older than himself were willing to undertake. Some idea of the liberal and progressive spirit with which he was imbued can be discovered in the fact that in 1818 he presented to the legislature of Ohio the first bill ever framed in Europe or America to abolish imprisonment for debt. The decisive vote on the measure was taken on January 16, 1819, and it failed of a passage. Mr. Kelley, in writing to a friend on that date, used the following significant and prophetic language:

The house has to-day disagreed by a small majority to my favorite bill to abolish imprisonment for debt. I was not disappointed, although at first a large majority seemed to favor it. The time will come when the absurdity as well as inhumanity of adding oppression to misfortune will be acknowledged; and if I should live to see that day I shall exult in the consciousness of having early combated one of the worst prejudices of the age.

He lived to see that day, and to be honored as one of the bravest pioneers in this path of reform. He lived to see

New York state, in 1831, pass a law similar to the one he had proposed thirteen years before; to see Ohio and other states of the Union follow that example, and to see even conservative England break the fetters from the limbs of its unfortunate poor, and abolish a system that is now a by-word and a shame the civilized world over.

The full measure of usefulness that Mr. Kelley gave to the canal system of Ohio is a difficult thing to define in any record short of a complete history of that great public improvement. The preliminary steps looking to an adaptation to the needs of Ohio of the water highways the genius and influence of De Witt Clinton had secured for New York, were taken in 1821, and on January 31, 1822, a law was passed by the Ohio legislature authorizing an examination into the practicability of connecting Lake Erie and the Ohio river by a canal. The commissioners named in that act for the carrying out of that measure were Benjamin Tappan, Alfred Kelley, Thomas Worthington, Ethan A. Brown, Jeremiah Morrow, Isaac Minor and Ebenezer Buckingham. After the preliminary steps had been taken, Mr. Kelley and Micajah T. Williams were made acting commissioners, and the canals were constructed under their direct control. With full credit to all others who had a part in the work, it can truthfully be said that no words can overestimate the part Mr. Kelley had therein. I borrow the following from the pen of one who was conversant with all the facts of the case, and capable of forming an honest judgment thereon:



The Ohio canal is a monument to the enterprise, energy, integrity and sagacity of Alfred Kelley. He was acting commissioner during its construction, and the onerous and responsible service was performed with such fidelity and economy that the actual cost did not exceed the estimate! The dimensions of the Ohio canal were the same as those of the Erie canal of New York, but the number of locks was nearly double. The Erie canal was 363 miles in length, and its total cost was \$7,143,789, and cost per mile, \$19,679. The Ohio canal is 307 miles in length; its total cost was \$4,695,824, and cost per mile, \$15,300, being less than that of any other canal constructed on this continent. The Ohio canal was finished about 1830. The labor in the then facilities for the conducting of public enterprises was herculean, but Mr. Kelley's indomitable will and iron constitution and physique triumphed over all difficulties. Mr. Kelley neither charged nor received any pay for his first year's services in superintending the preliminary explorations and surveys for the Ohio canal; and while engaged in the great labor of building the canals received only a salary of three dollars per day. Surely it was not the money he worked for.

In 1830 Mr. Kelley made his home in Columbus, and Cleveland lost one who had for twenty years been one of her most honored and useful citizens. On the completion of the canals he resigned his position of commissioner and gave his time to his private affairs and to regaining the strength he had so freely given to the public service. But he was too valuable a man to be wasted on the small affairs of private life, and in 1836 the people of Franklin county again made him a member of the house of representatives, and kept him in that body three terms although the county was strongly Democratic. He was an ardent Whig, and in 1840 was chairman of the Ohio state central committee, a position to which he gave much earnest and successful work. In 1840 he was also appointed to the office of state fund

commissioner, a place of great responsibility and risk in the condition of financial affairs at that period. Touching his part therein, I again quote from the article referred to above:

In 1841 and 1842 a formidable party arose in the legislature and in the state which advocated the non-payment of the maturing interest upon the state debt, and the repudiating of the debt itself. This was indeed a time which tried the souls of men. Mr. Kelley went to New York, and such was the confidence reposed in his integrity and practical ability—notwithstanding the atrocious and underhanded means employed by the repudiators to defeat his object—that he was enabled to raise in that city, where no one could be found willing to loan money to the sovereign state of Ohio, nearly a quarter of million dollars on his own personal security, and thus by his generous efforts, and his alone, the interest was paid at maturity, and the state of Ohio was saved from repudiation.

Had Mr. Kelley performed no other act for the public benefit, this one by which he saved the reputation of Ohio and kept a great stain of financial dishonor from falling upon it, would alone have won for him a place of honor among the most patriotic citizens of his adopted state.

In 1844 Mr. Kelley was elected to the state senate from the Franklin district. One of the first things to which he turned his attention was the bettering of our system of banking. He had had practical experience in that direction. He was one of the incorporators of the Commercial Bank of Lake Erie, which came into being in Cleveland in August, 1816, its first president and a member of its directory when it was reorganized and started anew in 1832. He had studied financial questions closely, and soon after entering the senate he originated the bill for the creation of the State

Bank of Ohio and other banking companies. This law has been pronounced by men competent to judge one of the best banking laws ever passed in America. Some of the most valuable provisions of the present national banking law were borrowed from that measure. Mr. Kelley not only advanced the theory but gave it life and form as a member of the board of control of the State bank, and during some of the most trying periods of its existence was president of the board. While serving in the senate, during this term Mr. Kelley also originated the revenue system of the state that afterwards became a part of the present constitution of Ohio. Up to this time the land tax system prevailed in Ohio. Naturally a movement to compel the listing and taxation of personal property met with great opposition, and Mr. Kelley was abused by some of the newspapers and politicians of the state in round terms. But he went ahead and paid no attention to them. His measure carried, and the fact that it stands in force to-day is sufficient vindication of the wisdom of his course.

It was in still another department of labor and development that Mr. Kelley was of the most signal use to Cleveland and all the territory lying roundabout, and that was in connection with the building of the first railroad ever operated in this city. It is needless to say that he was one of the few men who could see the possibilities of the future in connection with transportation by rail, and that he was willing to give his wonderful energy and great influence to

the advancement of the new idea. On the ending of his senatorial term he accepted the presidency of the Columbus & Xenia Railroad company, and pushed the road forward to completion. When it was in such shape that others could operate and handle it he resigned. At this time the critical period of the proposed Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati railroad had arrived. The enterprise was on the edge of ruin and failure. Hope, courage, money and labor had been given to it, but with small prospect of success as the recompense. It was at that low ebb that Henry B. Payne and Richard Hilliard came forward and gave three months of their labor to the trying task of tiding it over the bank of public indifference on which it had lodged. When the monied men of Cleveland were becoming aroused and the subscription list began to roll up, these two gentlemen decided that one thing more was needed to secure success, and that was to obtain the consent of Alfred Kelley to take charge of the road. With him in the presidency they were sure it could be built. Without him they had grave doubts. A delegation, headed by Mr. Hilliard, was sent to Columbus. Mr. Kelley at first refused. He felt that he had given so much of his time and strength to public uses, that he had a right to rest while other and younger men should bear the burdens that were being sought to be laid on him. The delegation urged him to reconsider his determination, and placed their request on the ground that he would afterwards regret that he had not rounded out his noble career with

this last great work. Finally, as a matter of duty and that alone, he accepted the presidency of the road and went to work with all the power there was in him. He was the drive-wheel of the enterprise. He furnished faith and courage where others lacked or doubted. He solicited subscriptions to the capital stock, located a good portion of the route, procured rights of way, attended in person to all expenditures of money, and was everywhere, and ever ready to wear himself out in a loyal administration of the great trust reposed in his hands. He dug the first spadeful of earth when ground for the great highway was broken, and with his own hands laid the first rail. He did all that any one man could do, and to him belongs a large share of the credit that the road was built. In 1850 he was also made president of the Cleveland, Painesville & Ashtabula road, and gave to it the same loyal service that characterized his connection with its neighbor leading to the southwest. He resigned these positions in 1853, but was a director in both companies until his death.

In 1857 he was again elected to the state senate from the Franklin district, although it was his desire to retire from public life, and enjoy the rest he had never been able to secure before. But he worked as faithfully as ever for the good of the public, and although his health and strength perceptibly declined during his last year of service, he was seen at the state house every day, and secured the enactment of several measures in relation to the protection of the public funds.

At the close of this term of service he began to give serious attention to the condition of his health. But it was too late. The calls he had daily made on the reservoir of strength within him had at last emptied it, and when he prepared to face the weariness and weakness that had taken possession of him, there was nothing left on which he could lay hold. He had worn himself out in the work for the public. He grew weaker and weaker, and on December 2, 1859, fell quietly into the eternal sleep. He suffered little and was unconscious from the Tuesday preceding the Friday on which he died.

To write Alfred Kelley's public life in full would almost be the writing of the history of Ohio during its formative and developing period. It is no flattery and no misuse of facts to say that he had a better, larger and more progressive influence on the legislation and public improvements of Ohio than any one citizen who has ever dwelt within her border. Full credit has never been given him, and this generation has only a vague sense of the amount to which it is in his debt. As a public man, his character has already been shown by his works. Personally he was a man of great mental power, with his brain subordinate to the direction and control of a pure heart. He was the soul of personal and public honor. His feelings were warm and kind, but his sympathies never mislead his judgment nor caused him to mistake the right and the wrong. He was of an intense and nervous temperament, a natural leader of men, and with great power to command. He was reserved, and never made an endeavor

to gain a popularity or a standing that was not conceded him as a matter of recognized right. He was a strong and logical speaker, who appealed to the reason of men rather than their sympathies. He had a natural vein of New England Puritanism running through his nature, that was modified by a touch of quiet humor, and a recognition of all the rights by nature and law that belonged to others. He was the soul of hospi-

ding the young couple set out therein for the new home he had found in the west. They drove to Buffalo, and as the roads became quite difficult of travel they decided to come the remainder of the distance on a schooner that was then lying in the harbor. As she was not yet ready to sail, they drove to Niagara Falls, and on their return found that the vessel had taken advantage of a favoring breeze and gone without

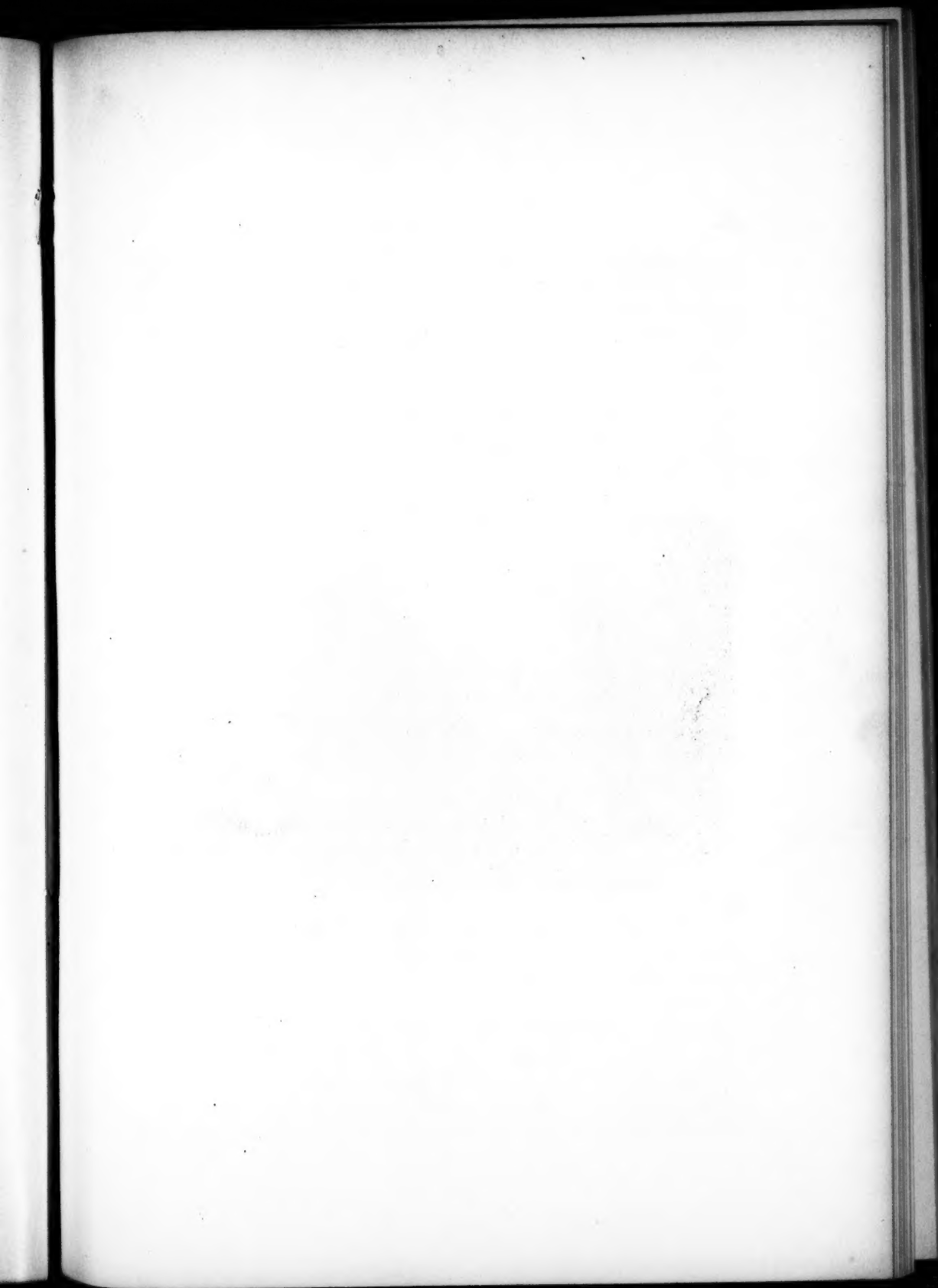


THE HOME OF ALFRED KELLEY—THE SECOND BRICK HOUSE IN CLEVELAND.

tal; charitable; humane; and progressive in all his views. His life was as pure as it was busy and full of use.

Mr. Kelley's domestic life was of a happy character. He was married on August 25, 1817, to Mary S. Wells of Lowville, daughter of Melancthon Wells, New York. Mr. Kelley had purchased a carriage in Albany, and after the wed-

ding they thereupon concluded to continue in their vehicle. Seven days were occupied in the trip, as the roads were in fearful condition, and for some of the distance the bride was compelled to walk. On reaching Cleveland they discovered that the schooner had not yet arrived at this port. Their carriage was the first one seen in Cleveland, and







Your Obedt Servt  
J. B. Cahoon

was for a long time in demand on special occasions. It was used by the senior Leonard Case when he went forth to bring home his bride.

The first brick house in Cleveland was built on Superior street in 1814, and the second was that which Alfred Kelley erected in 1816. He was the owner of a piece of land running from Water street to the river, and to the lake on the northward. It was on this property that the story and a half building was erected, at a point where the Cleveland Transfer company's building now stands. He intended it for the residence of his parents, but as his mother died before its completion he and his young bride were its first occupants, and there they remained until 1827. The building then had various tenants, the family of Hon. John W. Allen being at one time among them, and was torn down some time after 1850. Mr. Kelley at one time owned the piece

of land on the flats afterwards sold to Joel Scranton, and known in later years as "Scranton's flats," and in the house upon it his family resided at one time. To Mr. and Mrs. Kelley eleven children were born, five of whom died in infancy, and six who are yet living, their ages coming in the following order: Maria, now Mrs. Judge Bates of Columbus; Jane, who was married to William Collins of Lowville, who removed to Cleveland and became a prominent member of the Cuyahoga bar; Helen, who became Mrs. Francis Collins of Columbus, her husband being a brother to William Collins; Anna, who married Colonel C. J. Freudenberg of the United States army; Alfred, the only son, who resides at the family homestead in Columbus; and Kate, the wife of Rev. W. H. Dunning of Cambridge, Massachusetts.

J. H. KENNEDY.

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#### JOEL B. CAHOON.

JOEL B. CALOON, whose name comes ever into mind when the pioneers of western Cuyahoga are mentioned, was the descendant of worthy bearers of that name who came in an early day from Scotland to the new world in the west. The first definite location of the family in America is discovered about 1680, on Block island, in Long Island sound. A settler thereon of the name of Cahoon, whose given name has not been recorded, was the father of the first white

child born on Block island. That son afterwards went to Massachusetts, and from there to Rhode Island. His son, Reynolds Cahoon, in or near the year 1780, located in Massachusetts, where he gave his attention to farming. To him, in turn, four sons were born, whose ages ranged in the order here named: Joseph, Benjamin, Wilbur and Reynolds. Benjamin remained in the east, Wilbur removed to Avon, Lorain county, Ohio, in 1812, and was the father of

Ora, Wilbur and Leonard Cahoon; Reynolds also came to Ohio, and is buried in the cemetery at Euclid. The oldest of the four, Joseph Cahoon, was the father of the subject of this sketch, and was born in Rhode Island in 1763. About the time of reaching his majority he was married to Lydia Kenyon. In 1799 he made his home in Newark, New Jersey, where he was in charge of a tide mill. In 1803 he removed to Salisbury, New York, and engaged in milling and manufacturing, and at the end of four years again removed to Vergennes, Vermont, where he had control of a planing mill for some three years. His thought had for some time set itself upon the prospects and chances of the country beyond the Alleghany mountains, and as early as 1799 he had made a tour of exploration down the Ohio river and up the Scioto. All that he saw or learned in that little raid of observation but made stronger his desire, and by 1810 he was ready to make the wish good in action. He chose his future home, and made his preparations to leave. The undertaking was one of greater moment than the most of us suppose, and the emigrant who set his face so far to the westward had full need of much courage and strength, and no small portion of hope. All the people of Vergennes assembled upon the village green to bid them a heart-felt God speed. Prayer was offered in their behalf, and they were committed to the long and dangerous journey, as are men who go down to battle. A great covered wagon drawn by four horses, with a saddle-horse led behind, was their mode of

conveyance. Within it the emigrant carried his family and such goods as could not be dispensed with. They were six weeks upon the journey. It is needless to recount their trials, dangers and adventures, for the like are written on almost every page of history made in this pioneer Western Reserve.

On October 10, 1810, their destination was reached, a halt was made, and the first settler had set his foot upon the soil of Dover, Cuyahoga county, Ohio. That point, where Cahoon creek empties into Lake Erie, was chosen because of its water power. The family were housed in their wagon until a log dwelling could be erected. The forest was removed and land laid under cultivation as opportunity offered. The first grist mill west of the Cuyahoga river was set up at Ridgeville, and the men who were employed upon the second at the mouth of the creek laid down their tools on September 10, 1813, and went down to the edge of the lake, where there came to them through the gray autumn haze, the sound of Perry's guns as he blew into fragments the British domination of these lower lakes.

Joseph Cahoon had a large family of children, of whom a brief mention is proper here before detailed reference to the son Joel B. The oldest son, Samuel, was the father of John Cahoon of Ridgeville, and James Cahoon of Penfield, Huron county. The next, Amos, with his family, removed to Wisconsin, in 1842; the daughter, Mary, married George Sexton of Ridgeville, where her son Lester is still living. Daniel, to whom reference is again made below,

was never married, and died in Cincinnati in 1842. The next daughter, Rebecca, was married to Ebenezer Griffith of Elyria, and her only daughter, Selicia, became the wife of James Wright of Cleveland. The third daughter, Abigail, was married to Hon. Leverett Johnson of Dover, and their union was the first celebrated in Dover township. She died in 1869. Her son, L. H. Johnson, is living at the homestead—a representative man in the town. The next son, Benjamin, lived in Elyria and left one son and four daughters. Another, William, located in Elyria, doing much for its upbuilding. His son W. E. Cahoon is at present recorder of Lorain county. The youngest son, Franklin, who was the first male child born in Dover, located in Norwalk, and on his death left one son.

Joel Butler Cahoon, the fourth child of Joseph and Lydia Cahoon, was born at Salisbury, New York, on August 27, 1793. His school advantages were limited, but he made good use of them. They were not of long duration, as the lad was only seventeen years of age when his parents forsook civilization and turned their faces toward a region where schools and academies were as yet unthought of. He went earnestly to work with the rest in the long labor of subduing the forest. Early in 1814 he joined the American army, and under the brave Major Croghan went to Mackinaw in an expedition against the British at that point. He served faithfully until the close of the war, and was mustered out in Warren.

For some time thereafter he carried the mail between Cleveland and Mau-

mee city, going on horseback, and meeting many adventures on his long and lonely rides—over swamps, rivers that possessed no bridges, and roads that were but bridle paths through the forest. In 1822 he returned to his birthplace at Salisbury, and while there engaged for some time in salt boiling at Salt Point, near Syracuse. He then entered the canal service, and for about a year commanded the boat *Neptune*, running between Salt Point and Brockport. Meanwhile his brother Daniel, who had been clerking for Nathan Perry, the Cleveland merchant, decided to go into business for himself, but before doing so wrote to his brother Joel, asking him to go into partnership. The latter accepted, and in 1825 the two opened a store at Boston, in Summit county, on the line of the Ohio canal. They remained there about a year, and then entered upon the real labors of their lives, and commenced the career in which they won such reputation and accomplished so much. They took a construction contract on the Pennsylvania canal, and in company with a man named McFarland, built the first lock in Allegheny county. In 1828 and 1829 they built a half mile on the Juniata canal, and for a number of years were engaged in similar works. When the Baltimore & Ohio railroad was commenced, they contracted for the building of several sections thereof. Their partner in this labor was General James K. Moorhead, who afterwards represented the Pittsburgh district in congress for many years. Their next venture was the building of the lateral branch of

this road from Frederick, Maryland, to the Monocacy, an excavation upon it being still known as "Cahoon's deep cut." They were also engaged upon the Winchester & Shenandoah railroad. In 1832 Mr. Cahoon built a canal lock at Point of Rocks, Maryland, and after that was engaged in various construction contracts until 1836. In that year he took a large contract on the Chesapeake & Ohio railroad, but through unfortunate calculations lost the accumulations that had been won by these years of hard and profitable labors. But he still had his industry and will, and he commenced life anew. He went to Kentucky and thence onward to Indiana, where, in 1838, he became a contractor on the Salem & Crawfordsville turnpike. The state suspended payment, and although he eventually recovered a part of what was due him, the action seriously crippled him. His last engagement upon any public works was in 1842, at North Bend, near Cincinnati. Here a serious blow befell him in the loss of his brother Daniel, who had so long been his business associate and personal companion. His losses financially, followed by this other loss, determined him to return to his old home on the Dover farm. He was now fifty years of age, and well entitled to quiet and rest. He resumed the life he had laid down so long before in obedience to his country's call for aid. The grist-mill and saw-mill were set once more in motion. He had purchased the home farm some time before. His mother had died on August 13, 1834, his father living until March 17, 1839, when he

also passed away, leaving behind him the record of a busy and useful life, and a name upon which no stain was ever laid.

Mr. Cahoon labored on his farm and in his mills until in 1865, when he had a severe illness. He recovered from that and in January 1879 he had a stroke of paralysis, and by another in 1880 he was completely prostrated. Though never able to walk after this he made no complaint, but accepted what remained to him with a serene thought that it was all for the best. Six weeks before the final summons came he kept his strength, and was not confined to his bed until the final fatal day. He talked much of his life and the blessings it had given him, told many interesting tales of his experience in the backwoods and afterward out in the busy world of men, and was a source of comfort and a lesson of deep manly strength to those about him. He said that life still held many pleasant things for him—that he was willing to remain as long as the Lord should choose, and ready to go if it should be His will. He faced the future without fear. As one has said who sat beside him much in those days of waiting:

His strictly temperate habits lengthened his days. His upright, honorable, Christian character won for him the respect of all. The patience with which he sat for many months and saw naught but beauty and comfort in his surroundings, added another to his numerous virtues. In the home made sacred by its associations with father, mother, brothers and sisters, all of whom had found rest, he sat serenely amid the gathering shade of years and listened to life's curfew bell, telling with eighty and nine solemn strokes that the hour had come when man must prepare to lie down and rest till the morning. With a



heart full of affection for his household, with intellect bright and vision undimmed, he looked forth upon the blue waters before him for the last time, and trusting in the Father of all, passed to his reward September 28, 1882.

His funeral attested the love and respect in which he was held. Friends gathered from miles away, and among them were some who had commenced life when he was young, and with him had seen all this west conquered and given to civilization. The services were solemn and tender, and when he was laid by the side of the father and mother he had loved so well, the thought of the entire community was that a pure, useful and worthy citizen had passed out of life's labors and into rest.

It is needless to say much of Mr. Cahoon's character or personality, as he was so well known all through this community. All through his business life he lived up to the high standard of Christian manhood he had early set for himself. He was industrious and active in a marked degree. He had a large fund of self-reliance and courage. The meagre educational advantages of his early life were made up in the knowledge and culture he gained from active intercourse with the world, and there were few topics on which he was not informed. He was a pleasant and entertaining talker. He was a Whig and afterwards a Republican, but never had an aspiration towards public life or politics in any practical form. His first vote was cast for Monroe and his last for Garfield. He was a member of the Baptist church, and a consistent follower of his belief in all things. He was a thorough business man, possessed

good judgment and great ingenuity, was pure in word and deed, loved his family and home with the greatest devotion, and was a true man in every relation of life.

Mr. Cahoon's family life was as blessed and happy as a loving wife and dutiful children could make it. While engaged in his operations in the east he became acquainted with Mrs. Margaret A. Van Allen of Washington, D. C., his junior by a number of years, and they were married in Frederick, Maryland, on July 14, 1831. Mrs. Cahoon was a daughter of John Calhoun Dickson, who was of the same family descent as the famous John C. Calhoun. Her early life had been spent in Washington, and she saw much that has long since passed into history—the inauguration of Monroe and of John Quincy Adams, the visit of La Fayette, and many of the episodes of national life as viewed at the capital. She has seen Jackson, Van Buren, Polk and Buchanan, Webster and Everett, and many of the giants of those days. She was a helper in every sense of the word to Mr. Cahoon, making his interests her own, facing bravely each trying situation, accepting reverses cheerfully, and matching his courage with her own. She is still living with mind and memory as bright as ever, cherished by her children, and resting contentedly in the shadow of a useful life, as the sun sinks slowly into the west. A happy and remembered day was that, on July 14, 1881, when a company of friends gathered at the farm home in Dover to aid the venerable couple in the celebration of their

golden wedding. Guests were present from many northern Ohio towns, and places much more distant. Mr. and Mrs. Cahoon sat in the east parlor, a marriage bell of golden rod to the right of them, and to the left an array of the same expressive emblem, divided into eleven branches, nine of which represented the children living, and two the children dead. "Mrs. Cahoon seemed in her usual strength," to borrow from a newspaper account of the occasion, "while her partner was less strong, and the fatigue of the day told upon him. . . . One by one the guests departed as the shades of night began to fall. Each felt that the day had been delightfully spent, and that he had met an honest, industrious and brave-hearted pair, who had done their work of life well, and had earned the rest, the plenty and the honor old age had crowned them with, and among the blessings not to be counted last or least, were the dutiful sons and worthy daughters whose happiest mission and dearest task is to do honor to the twain who worked for them and guarded them in those days when all their help must come from hands other than their own."

This sketch would be incomplete in one strong illustrative feature were no mention made of the reunions which Mr. Cahoon inaugurated, and which were annually held at his home. The first was on October 10, 1860, in honor of the semi-centennial of the settlement of Dover. Kindred, friends and neighbors were gathered in, and the day was passed in "feasting, song and story." Each year thereafter saw a like gather-

ing. The old days were lived over. The pioneers were invited in, and many were the stories told in the hospitable farm house that was erected in 1818 and in a remodeled form now stands as a relic of the past, or in the groves on the bank of the lake. In 1885 three-quarters of the century were celebrated in the same way, but the venerable figure that had so long been a centre-piece of the picture was not there. The last of a large family to be called—he also had passed away. But he had marked his love for the old home—long known as "Rose Hill"—by leaving it in such form that it should not pass from the family possessions. It is cared for by the brothers Leverett and Marshall, and is always "home" to the mother and children when they can turn their faces toward its quiet and rest.

Eleven children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Cahoon, of whom nine are yet living—Thomas H., the Cleveland lumberman and ex-member of the city council; I. Joseph, a prominent engineer and machinist of Memphis, Tennessee; D. Kenyon, Leverett J. and J. Marshall, residents of Cuyahoga county; and Lydia E., Laura E., Martha W. and Ida M., all of whom are engaged in teaching in the Cleveland public schools. The worthy qualities and high-minded usefulness of the parents are conspicuous in the lives of their daughters and their sons.

In concluding this record of the life of Mr. Cahoon, I cannot refrain from the following quotation of some points furnished by one who knew him well for a number of years:

I have often heard Mr. Cahoon speak of his early life, and of some of the experiences through which he passed. He told me once of a trip he made in 1835. On May 3, of that year, accompanied by his wife and two small sons, who then composed his family, he started by stage from Frederick, Maryland, to visit Ohio. They arrived in Cleveland of an evening, spent the night at the Franklin house, of which Philo Scovill was proprietor, and in the morning hired the only hack in Cleveland to take them to Dover. Before making the return, Mr. Cahoon bought a span of fine horses which he wished to take with him, and a Jersey wagon, with which they returned to Maryland, reaching there early in June. They arranged an umbrella upon the back seat, and improvised a bed in the back of the wagon, where the children slept when tired. This was one of the methods of travel in those early days.

Mr. Cahoon's father and himself quarried the mill-stones for their grist-mill from the little brook on the farm, and when the mill was torn down they were taken to the lawn and used as stepping-stones

at the carriage drive, where they yet remain. While still a youth Mr. Cahoon pulled up a young locust for a riding whip, and on returning home planted it. When he grew old, and as he was waiting for the last summons, he would sit for many hours, day after day, under the shadow of the tree that was young when he was young, and had grown old with him. He loved it with a deep affection. He was patient and thoughtful of all, and even during the closing days, in which he was often in intense pain, he never complained. About a week before his death his faithful wife was sitting by him, and he seemed drowsy. She said, in the hope of rousing him, "Why, Mr. Cahoon, how sleepy you are." "Yes," he answered quietly, "I think I will take a long sleep and wake to an eternal day." Those days he had passed in his little room overlooking the lake, gazing upon its blue waters, the waving branches of the elm on the hillside, and the little brook flowing peacefully between the high cliffs on either side, had helped to make it easier for him to enter into rest.

## EDITORIAL NOTES.

WE meet, on every hand, in the current histories of the west, the names of some of the most prominent individuals in our annals wrongly spelled. The brave colonel who, with a few men, in July, 1778, captured from the English the Illinois towns, is frequently spoken of as George Rogers Clarke, instead of Clark, as he should be. Another officer, but one who figured largely in the west after the Revolution, is Josiah Harmar, not Harmer. Colonel David Brodhead, who, in 1779 and for two years following, was in command of Fort Pitt, Pittsburgh, suffers in having too many a's in his name, thus: Broadhead. Another, a brigadier-general, who succeeded Brodhead and Colonel John Gibson in 1781, is frequently spoken of as William Irving, instead of Irvine. The list might be extended almost indefinitely.

AT a meeting of the Exposition society directors of western Pennsylvania, in Pittsburgh, on the fifteenth of January of this year (1886) an interesting matter was brought up. In 1787 congress passed the famous "Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio," which territory embraced all the land north and west of the Ohio river, and which constitutes the five great states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, also the eastern half of Minnesota. General Arthur St. Clair was then president of congress, and was soon after appointed governor of the territory; thus provided for, he became one of the great leaders in public matters in the west. St. Clair is buried at Greensburg, the county seat of Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania. To celebrate the centennial of the organization of the Northwest Territory, and commemorate St. Clair's noble work, were the features proposed for the opening of the exposition next

year. The subject, however, was left in a preliminary state; but, from the talk of those present, it will probably soon take definite shape.

DR. DANIEL G. BRINTON of Philadelphia, well-known for his archaeological and ethnological researches, has been announced as laureate of the *Société Americaine de France* for 1885, and awarded the medal of the society for his works on the aboriginal languages of America.

ON the fifteenth of January of this year, was published the first number of *The English Historical Review*, edited by Mandell Creighton and a number of assistants. It has four principal divisions: (1) contributions; (2) notes and documents; (3) review of books; (4) notes of the contents of foreign historical periodicals; and (5) bibliography of historical works. In the initial number there are two articles of especial interest to Americans: *Letters of Increase Mather and Randolph*, by C. E. Doble; and *the Campaign of General Braddock*, by J. C. Wilson. The intention of the promoters of this periodical is "to establish for the first time a review in the English tongue, dealing with strict historical research, open to students in all fields of history, and at the same time addressing itself also to those who, while not professed historical scholars, interest themselves in historical inquiry."

AMONG the few historians of Canada of marked ability who have interested themselves in the history of our country, so far as it appertains to the west, Benjamin Sulte of Ottawa stands conspicuous. The first efforts of M. Sulte in the field of literature were verses published in 1859-60, under various *noms de plume*. Soon after, in 1861, he signed his own name, and at once attracted the attention of those whose taste made them attentive to the



revelation of coming men. The Honorable P. J. O. Chauveau secured his productions for *Le Journal l'Instruction Publique*, where he gave many good songs and patriotic verses. In 1864 was founded in Montreal, *La Revue Canadienne*, and M. Sulte immediately became one of the most regular collaborators of that publication; and he is now the only one of the old writers on the list. There he printed in 1868 his first article on the question of the destruction of our forests, a subject which at once made him known as a deep observer of the resources of Canada, and a strong prose writer. In 1870 appeared *Les Laurentiennes*, a very elegant volume, containing all the national and patriotic verses of M. Sulte. In the same year was published the first part of the 'History of Three Rivers,' his native city. The luxurious style of publication adopted by the author frightened the public, and the subscription was meagre, but M. Sulte only answered: "Wait, and you will pay five times the same amount of money for the same work in a few years." We are told he is sure of that result now. In 1873 was distributed in Europe a pamphlet, entitled *Le Canada en Europe*, a very sharp criticism by M. Sulte, of the nonsense published in Europe about Canada. Several pamphlets appeared afterwards from his pen, such as the 'History of the French-Canadians in Ottawa,' and 'Notes on Early Travels in the Northwest Territories.' In 1876 he published '*Les Chants Nouveaux*,' a continuation of '*Les Laurentiennes*.' A good volume is the one published in 1876 under the title of '*Melanges d'Histoire et de Littérature*.' The article in this work on Jean Nicolet, the discoverer of the northwest, was the first to call the attention of American readers, in a particular manner, to M. Sulte's historical efforts. Another book, called '*Chronique Trifluvienne*,' was printed in 1879, telling about the events which took place in Three Rivers between the years 1640 and 1665. We have heard this work highly praised. In 1881 he published a large album of unknown plans and sketches relating to the seventeenth century on the St. Lawrence. The first volume of '*Histoire des Canadiens-Fran-*

*çais*' was published in 1882, and the eighth and last one in the spring of 1885. It covers the whole history of Canada, but deals principally with the settlers, and very little with other matters pertaining to the history of that country. Other works of M. Sulte, such as large indexes to series of historical documents, have been put in circulations. We hear he is now preparing three volumes of his articles which have appeared since 1860 in various reviews, both in Canada, the United States, and France.

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THE Rev. Father Chrysostom, of the Odanah mission, Ashland, Wisconsin, is understood to be preparing a history of the early Indian missions of that state. This, undoubtedly, will be a valuable work, as the Rev. Father has access, it is said, to various manuscripts and documents at the vatican.

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THE first important topographical description of a considerable part of the northwest is that given by Lewis Evans, entitled 'An Analysis of a General Map of the Middle British Colonies,' to which is appended a map of the date of 1755. This 'Analysis' of Evans was enlarged by T. Pownall in 1776, in a 'Topographical Description' accompanying his map of that year, or rather Evans' map, "with some improvements by I. Gibson." Following Pownall is Thomas Hutchins' 'Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania,' etc., of 1778, with a large and much improved map of that date. Ten years later Manasseh Cutler wrote and had printed 'An Explanation of the Map which Delineates the Part of the Federal Lands Comprehended Between Pennsylvania West Line, the Rivers Ohio and Sioto, and Lake Erie, Confirmed to the United States by Sundry Tribes of Indians in the Treaties of 1784 and 1786, and now ready for Settlement.' But the map we have never seen. The 'Explanation' may be said, in a sense, to be the first history of the northwest. "It is found," says Cutler, "by late experiments, that sails are used to great advantage against the current of the Ohio; and it is worthy of



observation, that, in all probability, steamboats will be found to do infinite service in all our extensive river navigation." This was written before there was a single permanent white settlement in the present state of Ohio, and twenty years previous to the date of Fulton's building and launching his first successful steamboat.

ONE of the most industrious historians of the United States was Franklin B. Hough, M. D., LL. D., of Lowville, N. Y., who died on the seventh of June last. We give a list of a few of his works: 'History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties, N. Y.,' 1853; 'History of Jefferson County, N. Y.,' 1854; 'Results of a Series of Meteorological Observations Made at New York Academies,' 1855; 'Census of New York,' 1855, taken under his direction; 'History of Lewis County, N. Y.,' 1860; 'Munsell's Guide to the Hudson River,' 1859; 'On Military and Camp Hospitals, from the French of Bauden,' 1862; 'Northern Invasion of October, 1780,' 1866. Not less than eighty-three volumes, all his own work, have been printed.

"IT HAS long been known," says Dr. D. G. Brinton, in the January number of the American Antiquarian, "to Americans, that the richest collection in the world in their branch is that at the vatican library. Quantities of unique American MSS. are here stored, and many objects of aboriginal art. But it has been wholly inaccessible, and not even a written catalogue of its treasures existed. Now, however, under the enlightened patronage of Leo XIII., the eminent scholar, De Rossi, has in press a complete catalogue of all books, MSS., and curiosities in the collection. The programme of the work has already been printed in Rome, and we may look forward to the addition of much most valuable material for the study of the languages, early history, and archæology of America."

OF THE several schemes made by private individuals and companies before the Revolution to obtain, from the Indians "upon the

western waters," large tracts of land for a nominal sum, the most prominent were those organized or largely participated in by Virginians; and some of these plans were entered into even down to 1779, when the state of Virginia blasted all the hopes of these speculators by passing the following law, which applied to all the lands within her extensive limits as claimed—westward to the Mississippi and northward to the upper lakes:

"1. To remove and prevent all doubts concerning purchases of land from the Indian nations: Be it enacted by the general assembly, that this commonwealth hath the exclusive right of preëmption from the Indians of all lands within the limits of its own chartered territory, as described by the act and constitution of government in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six; that no person or persons whatsoever have, or ever had, a right to purchase any lands within the same from any Indian nation, except only persons duly authorized to make such purchases on the public account, formerly for the use and benefit of the colony, and lately of the commonwealth; and that such exclusive right of preëmption will, and ought to be, maintained by this commonwealth to the utmost of its power.

"And be it further declared and enacted, that every purchase of lands heretofore made by, or on behalf of, the crown of England, or of Great Britain, from any Indian nation or nations within the before mentioned limits, doth and ought to enure forever to and for the use and benefit of this commonwealth, and to and for no other use or purpose whatsoever; and that all sales and deeds which have been or shall be made by any Indian or Indians, or by any Indian nation or nations, for lands within the said limits, to or for the separate use of any person or persons whatsoever, shall be and the same are hereby declared utterly void and of no effect."

THE asserted discovery of America by the Northmen, it is claimed by Arthur James Weise, in his recent work, entitled 'The Discoveries of America to the Year 1525,' rests

more upon conjecture than evidence. "It appears," he says, "that Columbus was not the discoverer of the continent, for it was seen in 1497, not only by Giovanni Caboto, but by the commander of the Spanish fleet with whom Amerigo Vespucci first sailed to the new world." "The land of Francesca," continues Weise, "discovered by Verrazzani in 1524, was early possessed by the French, who built a fort near the Indian village where now is the city of New York, and called the surrounding country *La Terre d'Anormée Berge*; a geographical designation more significantly expressed in the phraseology, *The Land of the Palisades*."

THE first book written in the west by an American, concerning any portion of this region, was by John Filson, and was printed at Wilmington, Delaware, by James Adams, in 1784. It was entitled, 'The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke; and an Essay Towards the Topography and Natural History of that Important Country; to which is added an appendix, containing

- I. The Adventures of Col. Daniel Boon, one of the first settlers, comprehending every important occurrence in the political history of that province.
  - II. The Minutes of the Piankashaw Council held at Post St. Vincennes, April 15, 1784.
  - III. An Account of the Indian Nations inhabiting within the Limits of the Thirteen United States, their manners and customs, and reflections on their origin.
  - IV. The Stages and Distances between Philadelphia and the Falls of the Ohio; from Pittsburg to Pensacola, and several other places.
- 'The whole illustrated by a new and accurate map of Kentucke and the country adjoining, drawn from actual surveys.'

SO CLOSE is the alliance at this time between the United States and Mexico, and so sure to become intimately blended are their commercial interests in the not distant future, that a greater desire than ever is awakened to know

all about the past of our sister republic. In 1821 she became independent, and in 1824 the federal republican system was adopted. Resembling that of the American confederacy, it differed mostly in the greater magnitude of the powers conferred on the central or federal government; Old California, or the Peninsula, and New, or Upper, or Continental California, became territory dependent alone on the central government. This system continued until 1836, when it was abolished and a new political organization arose. By this the states forming the Mexican confederacy were converted into departments, each having a departmental junta, which could only propose laws to the general congress and make internal regulations of police, the governor of which department was selected by the chief of the republic from a certain number of persons designated by the departmental junta. This system continued with modifications from time to time until 1847, when the federal constitution of 1824 was restored. Under the central system established, as stated, in 1836, Upper and Lower California constituted one department, the governor being appointed by the central government. Such was its condition until the acquisition of the former—that is, Upper California—by the United States by the treaty of Hidalgo Guadalupe of May 30, 1848.

FROM the Address by M. F. Force, President of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, on the opening of their new rooms on the fifteenth of October, 1885, we learn that the society was chartered by the Ohio legislature on the seventh of February, 1831. It was organized in Columbus on the thirty-first of December following. At a meeting held in December, 1848, it adjourned to meet in Cincinnati, in February, 1849, and that city has since been its home. The Cincinnati Historical society was organized in August, 1844. When the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio moved to Cincinnati, the society of that city was merged in it, and the latter went out of existence.

IT MAY not be generally known to those who live upon the Sandusky river, from the mouth of the Little Sandusky to Sandusky bay, that they dwell upon what was, at an early day, a noted war path of the Indians. "A hundred leagues from Niagara," says Vaudreuil to the French Council of Marine in 1718, "on the south side [of Lake Erie] is a river called Sandosquet [Sandusky] which the Indians of Detroit and Lake Huron take when going to war with the Flatheads and other nations to Carolina, such as the Cherokees [Cherokees], the Indians residing on the River Casquinampo [Tennessee], and the Chaſanons [Shawanese]. They ascend the Sandusquet [Sandusky] river two or three days [to the mouth of the Little Sandusky], after which they make [some distance up that creek] a small portage, a fine road of about a quarter of a league [in what is now Marion county, Ohio]. Some make canoes of elm bark and float down a small river [the Scioto] that empties into the Ohio, which means Beautiful river."

IN A 'Geographical and Historical Account of the State of Ohio,' written by Thaddeus Mason Harris, A. M., and printed in 1805, is this apostrophe to the state:

"Here, where but late a dreary forest spread,  
Putnam a little band of settlers led;  
And now behold, with patriot joy elate,  
The infant settlement become a state;  
Sees fruitful orchards and rich fields of grain,  
And towns and cities rising on the plain;  
While fair Ohio bears, with conscious pride,  
New-laden vessels to the ocean's tide."

IN MARCH, 1789, the Rev. Daniel Story

came to Marietta, employed by the Ohio Company as a preacher. A church was organized in 1797, and gave him a call to settle, which he accepted; but, not being able to obtain ordination for him through the want of regular clergymen on the western side of the Alleghany mountains, the church and society—Congregational—appointed the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, of Hamilton, Massachusetts, to unite with Mr. Story in convening a council *there*, for that purpose. This was accordingly done, and he was ordained on the fifteenth of August, 1798—Dr. Cutler preaching the ordination sermon. Mr. Story was the first person who was ordained a Protestant minister for the purpose of laboring ministerially in the Western Territory.

IN THE south part of the State of Illinois is a county bordering on the Ohio river called "Massac," from a French fortification once existing within its present boundaries; but the history of this fort is involved in so much obscurity that even its name is a matter of doubt, some claiming that it should be written "Massac," others "Massiac," and still others "Massacre." Then we have "Marsiac," while a writer of 1764 speaks of it as "Fort Massiac, or Assumption." "Fort Massac," says E. B. Washburne, in 'The Edwards Papers' (p. 55, note), "was situated on the Ohio river, about forty miles from its mouth. . . A fort was erected at this point in 1711. It was captured by the Indians, and nearly all the French soldiers were massacred. It was subsequently rebuilt, and in memory of that disastrous event was named 'Fort Massacre,' from that came 'Fort Massac,' and from thence the name of Massac county."





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